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The emergence of evangelical theology in Scotland to 1550

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Doctor of Philosophy
The University of Edinburgh
2002

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Abstract

Religious dissent in Scotland in the years before 1550 is best categorised as evangelical: the two characteristics which mark dissenting activity are the doctrine of justification by faith alone, and the reading of the Bible in the vernacular. Dissent can be found in the southwest from lay preacher Quintin Folkhyrde in 1410 to a small but identifiable group of Lollards in Ayrshire who were tried in 1494 for group Bible reading, eschewing rituals, and challenging the authority of the ecclesiastical hierarchy. These 'Lollards of Kyle' were associated with the notary public Murdoch Nisbet, whose transcription of a Lollard New Testament into Scots was augmented in 1538 by the further transcription of textual aids from Miles Coverdale's edition. The Lollard group seems to have adopted the solafideism in this material, apart from their continued aversion to swearing. In the east, Luther's ideas were debated at St Andrews University in the 1520s, where Patrick Hamilton adhered to them and was burned in 1528; however, the same message of solafideist theology, Scripture reading, and perseverance in persecution was reiterated by his fellow-students John Gau and John Johnstone, in printed works which they sent home from exile. One of the primary concerns of ecclesiastical and state authorities was the availability of the New Testament in English, or other works reflecting Lutheran theology; they legislated against both owning and discussing such works. Sporadic heresy trials in the 1530s and 1540s reveal heretical belief and practice which is connected to the doctrine of justification by faith alone. In the late 1530s, a group of known evangelicals were at the court of James V: Captain John Borthwick tried to convince the king to follow the lead of Henry VIII and lay claim to church lands; Sir David Lindsay of the Mount probably wrote a play exhorting the king to enact reforms; Henry Balnaves was active after James's death in trying to forge a marriage treaty with England, which might have resulted in Henrician reforms. The governor Arran initially supported the court evangelicals, even backing a parliamentary Act allowing the reading, but not discussion, of the Bible in the vernacular. However, he reversed his policy and Balnaves, along with others, was imprisoned in Rouen, where he wrote a lengthy treatise about justification by faith alone, its effects on Christian society, and its help in times of persecution. George Wishart returned to his homeland in 1543, and began a preaching tour which took him from Angus to Kyle to East Lothian. Probably not having been guilty of the Radical beliefs laid to his charge in Bristol, Wishart held a developed Reformed theology, in addition to traditional evangelical concerns calling for a purified church guided by the Scripture principle, and drawing a sharp distinction between true and false churches. After Wishart was executed, John Knox proclaimed the Mass to be idolatrous before being imprisoned. The first Scot who appears to have moved from his basic evangelical beliefs to a functional Protestantism is Adam Wallace, a thorough sacramentarian who had baptised his own child. Upon his return in 1555, Knox took it upon him to convince the evangelicals that attendance at Mass was idolatrous, and he began administering Protestant communions. The central tenets of evangelical faith, however, continued to shape the incipient Protestant kirk.

Acknowledgements

I must first acknowledge my supervisors, Prof. David Wright and Dr Jane Dawson, for their seasoned guidance, learned comment, and spectacular patience during the course of my research. I am indebted to them both as academic supervisors and kindly mentors. The Department of Ecclesiastical History at New College provided a stimulating environment for research; I owe particular thanks to Prof. S.J. Brown for his professional and pedagogical wisdom. The experience of working in New College was a delight, and I am also grateful to the Department of History and the Department of Scottish History at Edinburgh. During the course of research and scholarly conferences, I have benefited from participation in the *respublica literarum*, and I am grateful to the many scholars who answered questions and made suggestions along the way.

I am grateful to the librarians and staff at the New College Library, the University of Edinburgh Library, the National Library of Scotland, the British Library, Cambridge University Library, the Bible Societies Library, the University of Tennessee Library at Knoxville, the University of Memphis Library, and Crichton College Library. To the faculty, staff, and students of Crichton College I am grateful for friendship, intellectual stimulation, and support.

I am indebted to a magnificent community of friends in Edinburgh and beyond, whose care, interest, and advice have been constant for me. My oldest friends Peter Johnson and Buzzy Jellett kept up with me from across an ocean; many other friends from the United States were regular in writing, calling, or even coming to visit. In Edinburgh the friendship of Dr Neil MacDonald, Dr James Macleod, and Dave Hurst has been a great support, along with many others. Mrs Gladys MacDonald and Mrs June Newcombe have provided both friendship and hospitality. I am likewise grateful to the congregations of St Paul's and St George's Scottish Episcopal Church, Edinburgh, and Holy Apostles Episcopal Church, Memphis.

To my family, my thanks can never be adequate. My wife Heather is the finest companion I could imagine, and her love, care, and humour are a vital part of my life: she deserves the most thanks. My daughter Kathleen has provided much joy during the joyless process of finishing a dissertation, and I am thankful to, and for, her. My parents have known me as a student almost as long as they have known me as a person, and I am immensely thankful for their love, support, and encouragement. My brothers and sisters and their families have likewise been a great help. I am also grateful to my parents-in-law and sister-in-law, who have graciously welcomed me into their family. Finally, I would like to thank my grandmother, Martha Chase Holt, who has loved and supported me for all my years. Her love for the past is infectious, and has shaped my scholarly ambitions; her faith, generosity, grace, and humour have shaped me as a person. To her this dissertation is dedicated with love and gratitude.

Soli deo gloria.

Abbreviations

| | |
|------------|---|
| ADC Public | Robert Kerr, ed. <i>Acts of the Lords of Council in Public Affairs 1501-1554</i> (Edinburgh: General Register House, 1932) |
| ARG | <i>Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte</i> |
| BJRL | <i>Bulletin of the John Rylands Library</i> |
| BM | British Museum |
| CB | Coverdale Bible: <i>BIBLIA The Bible / that is, the holy Scripture</i> , trans. Miles Coverdale ([Cologne?]: [Cervicorn and Soter?], 1535) |
| CE | John Johnsonsone, <i>An comfortable exhortation: of oure mooste holy Christen faith / and her frutes Writte[n] (vnto the Christe[n] bretherne in Scotla[n]de) after the poore worde of God</i> ([Antwerp]: [Hoochstraten], 1535) |
| CNT | Coverdale New Testament = STC 2838: <i>[The New Testament]</i> , trans. [Miles Coverdale] ([Southwark]: [J. Nicolson], [1538?]) |
| Cop. | James Houston Baxter, ed., <i>Copiale Prioratus Sanctiandree: The Letter-book of James Haldenstone, Prior of St. Andrews (1418-1443)</i> , St. Andrews University Publications, vol. 31 (Oxford: OUP, 1930) |
| DMH | <i>Historical Catalogue of Printed Editions of the English Bible 1525-1961</i> , ed T.H. Darlow and H.F. Moule, rev. A.S. Herbert (London: British and Foreign Bible Society, 1968) |
| ESL | John Durkan and Anthony Ross. <i>Early Scottish Libraries</i> (Glasgow: Burns, 1961) |
| FESMA | D.E.R. Watt, <i>Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanæ Medii Aevii ad annum 1638</i> (Edinburgh: SRS, 1969) |
| GB | Great Bible: <i>The Byble in Englyshe</i> , trans. Miles Coverdale (London: Grafton and Whitchurch, 1539) |
| IR | <i>Innes Review</i> |
| LW: | Martin Luther, <i>Luther's Works</i> , 55 vols, edJaroslav Pelikan et al. (St Louis: Concordia, 1955-75) |
| MB | Matthew Bible: <i>The Byble / which is all the holy Scripture</i> , trans. Thomas Matthew [=John Rogers] (London: Grafton and Whitchurch, 1537) |
| NAS | National Archives of Scotland |
| NTScots | <i>The New Testament in Scots, being Purvey's Revision of Wycliffe's Version Turned into Scots by Murdoch Nisbet c. 1520</i> , 3 vols, ed Thomas Graves Law [and Joseph Hall], STS (Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood and Sons, 1901-5) |
| RSCHS | <i>Records of the Scottish Church History Society</i> |
| RSS | Gordon Donaldson, ed, <i>Registrum Secreti Sigilli Regum Scotorum: The Register of the Privy Seal of Scotland</i> , vol. VI A.D. 1567-1574 (Edinburgh: HMSO, 1963) |
| RStAKS | David Hay Fleming, ed, <i>Register of the Minister Elders and Deacons of the Christian Congregation of St. Andrews ... 1559-1600</i> , 2 vols, SHS (Edinburgh: Constable, 1889-90) |

| | |
|-------------|--|
| SCJ | <i>Sixteenth Century Journal</i> |
| SHR | <i>Scottish Historical Review</i> |
| SHS | Scottish History Society |
| StAnd. For. | Gordon Donaldson and C. Macrae, eds, <i>St. Andrews Formulare 1514-1546</i> , 2 vols, Stair Society vols 7, 9 (Edinburgh: Stair Society, 1942, 1944) |
| STC | Alfred W. Pollard, G.R. Redgrave, et al., <i>A short-title catalogue of books printed in England, Scotland, & Ireland and of English books printed abroad, 1475-1640</i> , 3 vols, 2nd edn (London: Bibliographical Society, 1976) |
| STS | Scottish Text Society |
| WADB: | Martin Luther, <i>D. Martin Luthers Werke: Die Deutsche Bibel</i> , vols 6-7 [New Testament], ed O. Bebermeier, Otto Albrecht, et al (Weimar: Hermann Böhlaus Nachfolger, 1929, 1931) |

Introduction

'The Scottish Reformation has been peculiarly myth-ridden, though it is debatable whether modern reappraisal clarifies or obscures the view': thus begins a recent survey article on the Scottish religious settlements of the sixteenth century.¹ Such an assessment certainly holds true for the religious situation in the first half of the century. A long-standing historiographical tradition from the time of the Reformation produced a number of accounts of this period which divided along confessional boundaries, with the appearance of dissident elements before 1560 taken to represent either a groundswell of popular opinion leading to a people's revolt, or renegade heretical elements bent on disrupting church and society. Following Knox, most tended to follow the lives of memorable characters to provide narrative structure, and thus a Patrick Hamilton: George Wishart: John Knox: Andrew Melville pattern was set, at least for Protestant historians. Many of these studies, of course, were by scholars of the first rate, and with the plethora of club publications in the nineteenth century came an immense increase in knowledge of the period before 1550, in religion, society, education, and politics. Scholars like Thomas M'Crie, David Laing, Thomas Graves Law, Peter Lorimer, Thomas Thomson and others produced a steady stream of edited documents with fine introductions which have stood the test of time. Contemporary scholarship is deeply indebted to them; all but two of the documents examined in detail in the present study are based on these editions.

A. Historiography

¹ W. Ian P. Hazlett, 'Settlements: The British Isles', in *Handbook of European History 1400-1600*, 2 vols, ed Thomas A. Brady Jr, Heiko A. Oberman, and James D. Tracy (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1995), 2 (Visions, Programs and Outcomes): 455-90 (p. 473).

A fulcrum in historiographical approach was marked by D. Hay Fleming's comprehensive survey of the Scottish Reformation in 1910; while Fleming was still highly partisan, he was also deeply immersed in primary source material, and set a high standard for both the thorough examination of evidence and the scholarly citation of sources.² Fleming narrated a Protestantism in Scotland which marched from Lollardy down through the great men to Knox, but he did so in spectacular detail.

Following Fleming, the twentieth century saw enormous advances in the understanding of the sixteenth, and an explosion of new approaches. Many of the bedrock studies of the early Protestant presence are found in the journals. The Scottish Church History Society has provided a steady stream of material for its *Records* for much of the past century which has deepened the understanding of the early sixteenth century, the work of J.K. Cameron in particular; meanwhile *Scottish Historical Review* produced material of a broader spectrum, but still addressing the early Reformation period usefully. In mid-century, the *Innes Review* came into being, focusing its attention on Catholic history, and guided by the energies of John Durkan, J.H. Burns, and others, who have produced several invaluable articles. Durkan's remarkable efforts deserve special notice here, for his tireless combing of archival material and detailed knowledge of education, theology, and ecclesiastical structures in the sixteenth century have provided immense amounts of new information on the early Scottish dissidents, in remarkably concise articles for various journals upon which the present study has relied heavily.³

² David Hay Fleming, *The Reformation in Scotland: Causes, Characteristics, Consequences* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1910).

³ John Durkan, 'Some Local Heretics', *Transactions of the Dumfries and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society* 36 (1959): 67-77; John Durkan, 'Scottish "Evangelicals" in the Patronage of Thomas Cromwell', *RSCHS* 21 (1983): 127-156; John Durkan, 'Heresy in Scotland: the second phase, 1546-58', *RSCHS* 24 (1992): 320-65.

Monographs on the Scottish Reformation, now provided with easier access to primary sources and the careful analysis of the journals, took new directions in the twentieth century. All have shown a marked departure from the 'great men' approach of previous centuries, reflecting the concerns of their own by giving more attention to economics, ordinary citizens, and the struggle for power. Gordon Donaldson's *The Scottish Reformation* offered a learned discussion of church, state, and society on the 400th anniversary of the Reformation Parliament, though it was not particularly detailed for the early years; its notice of Patrick Hamilton is entirely: '[t]he burning of Patrick Hamilton in 1528 initiated a series of executions for 'heresy''.⁴ Rather ironically, Donaldson's *Scotland: James V-James VII* provides more on the religion of dissidents before 1560.⁵ Donaldson also provided useful scholarly editions of documentary sources. The standard text subsequently has been Ian Cowan's *Scottish Reformation*, more a social history of religion than the works which preceded it, but sensitive to ecclesiastical and theological issues.⁶ Cowan's efforts focused on documentary evidence such as burgh records, and in his view the paucity of dissenting activity recorded therein pointed to a small and unorganised Protestant presence before the 1550s. Notably, in this and other works, the centrality of John Knox's role was called into question.

The groundbreaking collection of *Innes Review* articles in 1962, *Essays on the Scottish Reformation*, had presented a somewhat similar take on the

⁴ Gordon Donaldson, *The Scottish Reformation* (Cambridge: CUP, 1960).

⁵ Gordon Donaldson, *Scotland: James V-James VII*, *The Edinburgh History of Scotland* vol. 3 (Edinburgh: Mercat Press, 1965, repr. 1994).

⁶ Ian B. Cowan, *The Scottish Reformation: Church and Society in sixteenth century Scotland* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1982).

religious situation in Scotland before the 1550s.⁷ Here, the vitality of the pre-Reformation kirk was a central theme, and the great men of previous historiography were shown to have feet of clay. A widespread assumption that the late-medieval Scottish church was in an irreparable state of decay could now be challenged. The degree of contextual detail provided in this volume, by Durkan and Burns in particular, is striking. Durkan's (co-edited with Anthony Ross) *Early Scottish Libraries* likewise lifted a veil on both the interests of pre-Reformation churchmen and the influence of the book in early modern Scotland.⁸

Following the advice of Ian Cowan, several scholars have produced regional histories of the Reformation period which shed great light on their subjects, Edinburgh, Ayrshire, St Andrews, Perth, Aberdeen, and Angus and the Mearns among others. Michael Lynch's fine study of Edinburgh showed that in the largest city there was little religious variance before 1560, taking a similar approach to that of Cowan.⁹ A rather different model is adopted by Margaret Sanderson, whose study of Ayrshire, while focusing on documentary material, nevertheless also pays close attention to the theological positions of the dissidents.¹⁰ Jane Dawson's brief study of St Andrews likewise connects theology to practice.¹¹ Frank Bardgett's history

⁷ David McRoberts, ed, *Essays on the Scottish Reformation 1513-1625* (Glasgow: Burns, 1962).

⁸ John Durkan and Anthony Ross, *Early Scottish Libraries* (Glasgow: Burns, 1961).

⁹ Michael Lynch, *Edinburgh and the Reformation* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1981). Lynch's history of the nation also provides useful material on early Scottish evangelicals: Michael Lynch, *Scotland: A New History* (London: Pimlico, 1993).

¹⁰ Margaret H.B. Sanderson, *Ayrshire and the Reformation: People and Change, 1490-1600* (East Linton, East Lothian: Tuckwell, 1997).

¹¹ Jane E.A. Dawson, "'The face of ane perfyt reformed kyrk': St Andrews and the Early Scottish Reformation', in *Humanism and Reform: The Church in Europe, England and Scotland 1400-1643*, ed James Kirk. SCH.S vol. 8 (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991): pp. 413-35.

of Angus and the Mearn offers useful information on John Erskine of Dun in his context.¹²

Some eventual leaders of the Protestants appear in biographical studies of David Lindsay of the Mount and David Beaton. There is considerable overlap in time period, but the volumes focus on the different worlds of court and church, and hence complementary pictures of minor figures like John Borthwick, Henry Balnaves, and George Wishart emerge.¹³ Jane Dawson's forthcoming study of the Campbell earls of Argyll will provide similar depth. Similarly, new biographical entries have appeared in various reference works, particularly the *Dictionary of Scottish Church History and Theology*, a useful compendium which provides entries of some of the hitherto obscure figures in pre-Reformation Scotland.¹⁴ The *New Dictionary of National Biography* will provide lengthier articles on the major figures.¹⁵

The history of political thought overlaps with early Protestantism on the questions of the role of the magistrate and the interplay of crown and church. James Burns has treated these topics with respect to some of the early Scottish evangelicals in his Gifford lectures.¹⁶ James Kirk connected

¹² Frank D. Bardgett, *Scotland Reformed: The Reformation in Angus and the Mearns* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1989).

¹³ Carol Edington, *Court and Culture in Renaissance Scotland: Sir David Lindsay of the Mount* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts, 1994); Margaret H.B. Sanderson, *Cardinal of Scotland: David Beaton, c. 1494-1546* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1986).

¹⁴ David F. Wright, David C. Lachman, and Donald E. Meek, eds, *Dictionary of Scottish Church History & Theology* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1993).

¹⁵ Some material in the present study draws upon my articles in the *New DNB* on Henry Balnaves, John Borthwick, Murdoch Nisbet, and George Wishart. These will appear in 2004.

¹⁶ J.H. Burns, *The True Law of Kingship: Concepts of Monarchy in Early Modern Scotland* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1996).

Henry Balnaves to the later tradition in his study of 'Ministers and Magistrates'.¹⁷

Thus the theology of the early religious dissidents in Scotland has not been a primary focus for much recent scholarship. However, there are notable exceptions. Three articles deal respectively with the influence of the major strands of magisterial Protestantism in Scotland, Lutheranism, Zwinglianism, and Calvinism.¹⁸ These trace theological influences, giving attention to specific texts and individuals, and the first in particular has been helpful with regard to the study of the earliest period. Another short volume on Lutheran influence seeks to trace theological themes in early Scottish religious texts.¹⁹

Other studies address the theological commitments of early Scottish evangelicals in different fashion. Gotthelf Wiedermann's essay on theological debate at St Andrews is indispensable, providing insight into Patrick Hamilton, Alesius, and others at the university.²⁰ James Cameron's articles on a little-known Lutheran tract and connections with Cologne establish new territory as well.²¹ Rainer Haas's dissertation on Patrick

¹⁷ James Kirk, 'Ministers and Magistrates', in *Patterns of Reform: Continuity and Change in the Reformation Kirk* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1989): pp. 232-79.

¹⁸ James K. Cameron, 'Aspects of the Lutheran Contribution to the Scottish Reformation 1528-1552' *RSCHS* 22 (1986): 1-12; Duncan Shaw, 'Zwinglian Influences on the Scottish Reformation', *RSCHS* 22 (1986): 119-39; James Kirk, 'The Calvinist Contribution to the Scottish Reformation', in *Patterns of Reform*, pp. 70-95.

¹⁹ James Edward McGoldrick, *Luther's Scottish Connection* (Madison, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1989).

²⁰ Gotthelf Wiedermann, 'Martin Luther versus John Fisher: Some Ideas concerning the Debate on Lutheran Theology at the University of St Andrews, 1525-30', *RSCHS* 22 (1986): 13-34.

²¹ James K. Cameron, 'John Johnson's *An Comfortable Exhortation of Our Mooste Holy Christen Faith and Her Frutes*: An Early Example of Scots Lutheran Piety', in *Reform and Reformation: England and the Continent c 1500-1750*, ed Derek Baker, SCHS vol. 2 (Oxford:

Hamilton offered more detail than any previous study (superceding Lorimer's biography), and the closest thing to a critical edition of *Patrick's Places*.²² David Wright has evaluated the knowledge of the church fathers in both Knox and early modern Scotland more generally; likewise, his survey of the Bible in the Scottish Reformation provided a new avenue of enquiry which is vital for the present study.²³

The most comprehensive treatment of religious dissent in pre-Reformation Scotland is James Kirk's lengthy survey article 'The Religion of Early Scottish Protestants', appropriately appearing in the *Festschrift* for James Cameron.²⁴ Kirk's article assesses virtually all the evidence for heretical belief or behaviour which documentary studies have produced, attending to social, political, and geographical considerations but also providing detail on theological content. The present study owes a great deal to this article.

The picture that has emerged from recent studies of early religious dissent in Scotland is as varied as the terms used to describe it. At issue in particular is the question of numerical strength: how many Scots were actively heretical? Regional distinctions are extremely important for this question, as well as for examining religious deviance in its context: burgh or countryside, coast or inland, appropriated or unappropriated benefices. This

Basil Blackwell, 1979): pp. 133-47; J.K. Cameron, 'The Cologne Reformation and the Church of Scotland', *JEH* 30 (1979): 39-64.

²² Rainer Haas, 'Franz Lambert und Patrick Hamilton in ihrer Bedeutung für die Evangelische Bewegung auf den Britischen Inseln', Inauguraldissertation (Marburg, 1973).

²³ David F. Wright, "'The Commoun Buke of the Kirke': The Bible in the Scottish Reformation', *The Bible in Scottish Life and Literature*, ed David F. Wright, assisted by Ian Campbell and John Gibson (Edinburgh: St Andrew Press, 1988): pp. 155-78.

²⁴ James Kirk, 'The Religion of Early Scottish Protestants', *Humanism and Reform: The Church in Europe, England, and Scotland, 1400-1643*, ed James Kirk, SCH.S 8 (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991): pp. 361-411.

fundamentally unresolvable question has seen a range of estimates, but it is certainly clear that heretical populations were smaller than has previously been assumed.

The nature of heretical belief and activity has also been called into question. References to heresy, or to Lutheranism in official records do not provide an accurate picture of belief, and in some cases what appears to be an early instance of Protestantism could also be an explosion of religious, social, or political frustrations; anticlericalism was not the sole province of the Protestants. The uncertainty of what the dissidents believed is exacerbated by their widely varying contexts, and the fact that there was rarely any unifying presence for the disparate groups. Thus religious dissent before 1550 is generally regarded as undefined, varied, and scattered, though some studies have presented evidence for a more coherent and connected network of heretics.²⁵

B. Methodology

Hence the terms used to define the individuals in question have also been varied: Protestant, Lutheran, heretic, dissident, and evangelical are all possibilities. The present study presents 'evangelical' as by far the most fitting label, following particularly the usage of the term in histories of the English Reformation. The anachronism of 'Protestantism' before 1529 is less a problem for the Scots in question than what that term implies: a separate ecclesiastical identity, both in terms of sacraments and authority. In these terms, it is difficult to locate any Scottish Protestants before 1550.²⁶ It is tempting to follow official precedent and refer to Lutherans, particularly in

²⁵ A useful summation of recent scholarship may be found in Julian Goodare, 'Scotland', in *The Reformation in National Context*, ed Bob Scribner, Roy Porter, and Mikulás Teich (Cambridge: CUP, 1994).

²⁶ Kirk's study clearly uses 'Protestant' in a broader sense than this.

light of the importance to the Scottish evangelicals of justification by faith alone and the vernacular Bible. But 'Lutheran' implies assumptions about the sacraments, the godly magistrate, and distinctions from the Swiss Reformed for which there is no evidence in Scotland. Particularly misleading in this respect is the idea that justification by faith only, or solafideism, was 'Lutheran'; while this doctrine was usually expressed in Luther's language, it was not exclusively the possession of those who agreed with Luther on other facets of theology.

Heresy is a broad term, and useful for the early period of the Scottish Reformation to indicate the institutional church's disapproval. It is in this sense that the term is generally used historiographically, and it need not imply a doctrinal judgement. But heresy is too broad a term for the evangelicals, who differed from other heretical groups in important ways. Margaret Sanderson in particular has used 'dissident', and the term has much to commend it, implying dissatisfaction with the state of affairs in the church and deviant behaviour. Potentially misleading, however, is an understanding of dissent which implies external action, particularly hostile to the institutional church; evangelicals did not necessarily carry their dissent further than a Bible-reading conventicle.

Evangelical implies 'gospel' in Luther's terms: the doctrine of justification by faith alone. This term was used in the early sixteenth century across Europe, and is particularly useful to modern historiography in that it does not imply confessional divides. In the years before the Council of Trent, such borders were often less sharp, and those who agreed with Luther's solafideist teaching could be found in most variations of the church at the time. Evangelical also implies an emphasis on the gospel text, generally for this study the New Testament, but in fact the entire Bible. Like justification by faith alone, the church's official position on Scripture was not

finalised before Trent, and those who encouraged reading of the text in the vernacular by laypeople could be found across the religious spectrum.

With regard to early Scottish religious dissent, 'evangelical' also helps qualify the widely-held, and quasi-Hegelian, temporal schema in which such dissent proceeded from a Lutheran phase, to a Zwinglian phase, and finally to a Calvinist settlement. This schema is useful, and in many respects correct, but it can mislead by its assumption of confessional boundaries. Luther, Zwingli, and Calvin were, after all, agreed on both justification by faith alone and the reading of Scripture, which are the two universal characteristics of Scottish evangelicalism. Moreover, the temporal schema implies too full a theological development; for example, although there is nothing to indicate that views on the magistrate were at all varied during the first two 'phases' in Scotland, Luther and Zwingli themselves disagreed on the issue.

The temporal schema is most problematic with regard to sacramental practice, with which the Scots evangelicals did not concern themselves, apart from general criticism, before 1545; in fact there does not seem to have been much serious consideration of sacramental practice amongst the evangelicals before the return of John Knox. As the Eucharist was such an impasse between Lutherans and the Reformed on the continent and in England, the absence of the issue in Scotland should modify the terminology used. The present study will assume that the introduction of sacramental practice marks a shift from evangelicalism to Protestantism in Scotland. While it is true that this applies specifically to Reformed Protestantism, which provided for a separate church identity with its own sacramental practice, the term 'Protestantism' will be used more generally to imply a more self-conscious, formally independent notion of the 'true church'. Regardless of the potential hazards of the temporal schema, it is certain that a shift began to occur in the wake of George Wishart's preaching tour and execution.

The primary focus of the present study is the basic theological identity of the Scottish evangelicals up to 1550. This theology has been considered in several studies (particularly by Cameron), but a comprehensive assessment has not appeared. The way in which Scottish evangelicals assimilated and digested continental theology is of particular interest here, and thus the primary point of reference will be to texts produced by the Scottish evangelicals themselves. This presents enormous problems because of the uncertainties of distribution, readership, and comprehension, but it is the assumption of this study that these texts shaped – indeed centred – the religious practice of the Scottish evangelicals, and hence close attention will be paid to examining them. The theological context of these texts will also be considered, though as Protestant writings were forbidden and few in Scotland, it is more important to analyse the content than the context.

The use of scriptural or other texts by the evangelicals formed their primary expression of religious devotion, and the conventicle offered a location outside the institutional church for reading and discussion. Some analysis of this activity may answer in part the question raised by Michael Lynch and Steve Boardman ‘how late medieval devotion apparently turned into attachment to evangelical reform’.²⁷ The present study does not, however, attempt to solve the problem of evangelical numbers.

There is of course much room for further study and reflection on these issues, and perhaps Tyndale’s afterword to the 1526 New Testament should be a headnote here: ‘Count it as a thyng not havynge his full shape, but as it

²⁷ Steve Boardman and Michael Lynch, ‘The State of Late Medieval and Early Modern Scottish History’, in *Freedom and Authority: Scotland c. 1050- c. 1650*, ed Terry Brotherstone and David Ditchburn (East Linton, East Lothian: Tuckwell, 2000): pp. 44-59 (p. 51).

were borne afore hys tyme, even as a thing begunne rather then
fynnesshed'.²⁸

²⁸ W.R. Cooper, ed, *The New Testament, Translated by Wiliam Tyndale: The text of the Worms edition of 1526 in original spelling* (London: The British Library, 2000): p. 554.

Chapter 1: The Lollard past

Lollardy in Scotland has received several good survey treatments, the details of which do not need rehearsal here.²⁹ Fragmentary evidence, from the trials of Englishman James Resby and Bohemian Pavel Kravar, to the parliamentary prohibition of 1425, to the passing use of the term by Scots poets and conciliarist theologians, suggests that Lollardy was not unknown in Scotland, but neither was it of particularly significant strength. Most of the early modern histories of the time follow John Knox, who appears to have spent very little time researching the Lollards, being interested in a rather different type of historical work from that of his English friend John Foxe, and thus unconcerned to find any particularly organic connection between Lollardy and Protestantism.³⁰ Two episodes in the history of Scottish Lollardy are, however, particularly relevant for the emergence of evangelical theology.

A. Quintin Folkhyrde

In 1410, Quintin Folkhyrde, an elusive but unquestionably genuine Scottish Lollard, is said to have been riding through Scotland, preaching and distributing heretical material. A sample of his work survives in the 'News of Scotland', sent to Prague in 1410.³¹ Some hints of Folkhyrde's personal

²⁹ See e.g. Sanderson, *Cardinal*; Sanderson, *Ayrshire*; John A.F. Thomson, *The Later Lollards 1414-1520*, Oxford Historical Series, second series (Oxford: OUP, 1965).

³⁰ Roger A. Mason, 'Usable Pasts: History and Identity in Reformation Scotland', *SHR* 76 (1997), 54-68 (pp. 66-7); Arthur H. Williamson, *Scottish National Consciousness in the Age of James VI: The Apocalypse, the Union and the Shaping of Scotland's Public Culture* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1979): pp. 15-21.

³¹ The text may be found as app. 6 to James Houston Baxter, ed, *Copiale Prioratus Sanctiandree: The Letter-book of James Haldenstone, Prior of St. Andrews (1418-1443)* [hereafter *Cop.*], St. Andrews University Publications, vol. 31 (Oxford: OUP, 1930), pp. 230-6 (quotation p. 230). The heading, 'Hec sunt nova Scocie, ... Pragm portata', has generally been rendered 'News of Scotland', a convention I will follow here. The 'News of Scotland' did in

details survive. In 1407, he was given two safe-conducts for travel in England, one of which mentions three servants in his service and animals he owned.³² This would suggest some wealth. In the 'News of Scotland', he is called a 'squire' ('armiger': 230). What precisely this means is not clear, though Macnab argues that Folkhyrde was a lesser baron or laird based on his possession of a seal of office ('sigillum nostri officii': 236).³³ To this may be added the fact that Folkhyrde includes his own title 'armiger' in a list of 'temporal lords' (231; cf. 234). Sanderson suggests that Folkhyrde may have come from the land-owning Fockhart family of Lesmahagow in Lanarkshire.³⁴ The 'News of Scotland' mentions that Folkhyrde rode throughout Scotland openly declaring his views in the vernacular (230). His rationale for such behaviour was that since the ecclesiastical authorities ('summis sacerdotibus') and the temporal lords have failed to reprimand the clergy for their shortcomings, he, fearing for his own salvation, had to take up the task as a 'holy war' (231). This 'holy war' accorded with his view of the duty ('officium') of the nobility: 'to know and defend the law of God, to protect Christ's servants, and to suppress the ministers of Antichrist' (230-

fact reach Prague, where a MS still rests in the University; another survives at Bautzen, which in the fifteenth century was under Bohemian rule: *ibid.*, p. 236. In-text references are to *Cop.*

³² Cited in T.M.A. Macnab, 'Bohemia and the Scottish Lollards', *RSCHS* 5 (1935), 10-22 (p. 14). Sanderson, noting a 'combination of unusual names', reasons that this must be the same individual: Sanderson, *Ayrshire*, p. 37. Concerning his surname, the 'News of Scotland' comments on its meaning: 'id est, pastor populi': *Cop.*, p. 230.

³³ Macnab, 'Bohemia and Scottish Lollards', pp. 14-16. Macnab states that by using the phrase 'nos et omnes christiani, sed specialiter domini temporales', Folkhyrde 'manifestly includes himself among the lords temporal' (*ibid.*, p. 15); but this is manifest only in the light of other evidence. The translations that follow are my own.

³⁴ Sanderson, *Ayrshire*, p. 37.

31).³⁵ Hence it may reasonably be assumed that he was a lesser noble, as he himself was performing the tasks which he required of the nobility.

The record of Folkhyrde's preaching which survives is a collection of four open letters he had distributed to anyone who wanted them in the form of pamphlets and leaflets ('cartulas et cedulas'), with a few narrative details added.³⁶ These *schedulae* are often referred to as 'letters', but this is misleading. The opening paragraph of the 'News of Scotland' describes the contents:

There is a certain squire called Quintin Folkhyrde (*i.e.*, shepherd of the people), who has risen up with a strong hand in the cause of God, riding through his homeland and openly proclaiming in the mother tongue the things which follow in the letters, distributing them in the form of pamphlets and leaflets, and offering them to anyone who held out his hand.³⁷

These were 'letters' in the sense of being open letters, not letters to Prague. Evidently Folkhyrde had copied and distributed written *schedulae* in the vernacular in addition to his preaching, and these had for some reason been translated into Latin for transmission to Prague. Poole suggested that the 'News of Scotland' may have been taken to Prague at the same time as letters of Richard Wyche and Sir John Oldcastle, on 8 Sept. 1410.³⁸ Once in Prague,

³⁵ '... officium autem suum est dei legem cognoscere et eam defendere, servos christi protegere et antichristi ministros opprimere': *Cop.*, pp. 230-1. Macnab mistakenly assigns this to the second *schedula*: Macnab, 'Bohemia and Scottish Lollards', p. 15.

³⁶ A discussion of *schedulae* may be found in Anne Hudson, *The Premature Reformation: Wycliffite Texts and Lollard History* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1988), pp. 201-2.

³⁷ 'Est quidam armiger nomine Quintinus Folkhyrde, id est pastor populi, qui insurgit in causa dei manu forti, equitando per patrias et palam publicando in materna lingua ista que secuntur in epistolis, ea per cartulas et cedulas dividendo et cuicunque manus extendenti porrigendo': *Cop.*, p. 230.

³⁸ Reginald L. Poole, 'On the Intercourse between English and Bohemian Wycliffites in the Early Years of the Fifteenth Century', *EHR* 7 (1892), 306-311 (p. 311).

these were translated into Czech, an intriguing fact which is difficult to explain.³⁹ That the 'News of Scotland' was translated into Latin, taken to Prague, and translated into Czech offers a firm link between Scottish Lollards and those abroad. It is entirely possible, given Folkhyrde's excursions into England, that he had contact with English Lollards as well.

Folkhyrde's tracts offer several indications of Lollard or Hussite belief. The first open letter details his complaint against the clergy: they 'defraud God's poor ... by not teaching them the law of God, the articles of faith, the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments, and the gospel of Christ in the vernacular', and they fail to give the revenues of the church exceeding their 'small need' to relieve the poor (*ibid.*, p. 231). These were characteristically Lollard complaints.⁴⁰

A narrative interlude in the 'News of Scotland' states that the clergy, offended by Folkhyrde, moved the temporal lords to work for his 'final destruction', and 'twice made process against him unfaithfully with their twisted censures'.⁴¹ In response to these, Folkhyrde had written the second tract, an open letter 'to the bishop of Glasgow ... and to all the clergy in the

³⁹ Poole saw this translation in the Vienna imperial library, MS 4916, and identified the first sentence, the subscription, and the addressees: *ibid.*, p. 311 and n. 35. He dated the MS to the early fifteenth century, and notes that it also includes letters in Czech by Huss. Spinka's claim that the Czech translations 'had a considerable effect upon the common people of Bohemia' appears to have been entirely speculative: Matthew Spinka, 'Pavel Kravar and the Lollard-Hussite Relations', *CH* 25 (1956), 16-26 (p. 18).

⁴⁰ '... defraudant pauperes dei in hiis que secuntur: videlicet in non docendo eos legem dei, articulos fidei, oracionem dominicalem, mandata dei et ewangelium christi in materna lingwa': *ibid.*, p. 231. See Hudson, *Premature Reformation*, pp. 353-5 (the clergy's duty to preach), 345-6 (alms to be given to the poor rather than priests).

⁴¹ '... 2° contra ipsum infideliter processerunt censuris indirectis': *Cop.*, p. 232. The fact that Folkhyrde escaped prosecution during these two proceedings against him may indicate further Lollard characteristics: he may have been difficult to convict, or may have readily offered an insincere recantation; and he seems to have defied excommunication.

realm of Scotland'.⁴² In this tract, Folkhyrde defends his 'public leaflet' ('communi cedula') on the failures of the clergy (*viz.*, the first epistle), and challenges them to respond using the authority of the life of Christ, reason ('sensum'), and 'the writings of your approved early doctors and expositors of holy scripture' (232).⁴³ Although this was not an appeal to Scripture alone, the author's emphases on the teaching of Scripture to the common people, and amendment of the lives of the clergy 'according to the authority of scripture', probably belie a Lollard emphasis on the Bible (232-3, 235). Folkhyrde's anti-clericalism shows through in the second epistle, but he offers little detail of the vices he wishes the clergy to abandon or the virtues he hopes they will embrace. He states his willingness to die in order to destroy their corruptions.

The third *schedula* was addressed to the nobility and their subjects, and it reiterates the typically Lollard anti-clerical theme, also appealing for redress to the nobility, as some Lollards had done. Here, both lords and subjects are enjoined to find out any priests who live luxuriant lives (described in detail) and who do not use all wealth beyond their necessity to help the poor (234). 'We have blown horns over these [priests]' ('super quos cornua flavimus'), says Folkhyrde (using a prophetic image whose origins lie in Ezek. and Rev., and which was famously adopted by Knox), and he enjoins his audience to do the same. In fact, any truck they have with such priests, 'except to their emendation', makes them guilty by association ('nisi ob eorum emendacionem, est eorundem particeps peccatorum'), and anyone

⁴² The location of the bishop is certainly Glasgow, though the original was offered as 'Glatonensi' by Loserth and 'Glacovensi' by Baxter. The Czech translation was 'Glocoveskemo': Poole, 'On the Intercourse', p. 310 (cites Loserth and Czech); *Cop.*, p. 232.

⁴³ '... scripturas vestrorum primitus approbatorum doctorum et sacre scripture expositorum': *Cop.*, p. 232. The fourth epistle likewise refers back, to the first three: *ibid.*, p. 235.

who does not do all in his power to right the evils of the priests has consented to them, and will receive a portion of their final punishment (235).

The final *schedula* is addressed to Folkhyrde's own curate and all curates, 'as though in an attempt to divide the higher and lower clergy over the issue in dispute', according to Sanderson.⁴⁴ The warnings of judgement against wicked priests apply especially to the curates, and they must make haste to mend their ways and fulfil their duty as priests:

... be rid of every worldly concern, spend time at home where your church is, apply yourself only to the divine law, and truly teach your parishioners the Lord's Prayer, the Apostles' Creed, and all the commandments of God in the vernacular.

Moreover, preach the gospel and epistle openly to them, suitably to the time, on the lesser Lord's days in the sight of all coming to the church, and [ensure] that you freely serve the sacraments; and be a faithful dispenser of the tithes and offerings, which are the portion of God, first receiving for yourself the necessary nourishment and clothing, yet not illicitly [receiving] all delights, but wisely distribute the remainder of the goods of God, with some portion of them for purchasing for yourself books of the law of God, and some portion of them for giving to the poor parishioners and to others having need, so that, considering the way of life of each Christian in his own rank, you will be content in your station with the least expenses, most remote from the world, and closer in your life to Christ (235-6).⁴⁵

⁴⁴ Sanderson, *Ayrshire*, p. 38.

⁴⁵ '... quod dimittas omnem assiduitatem mundanam, et domi ubi tua est ecclesia, moram trahas [presumably an exhortation against non-residence], quod studeas solum in lege divina necnon Pater noster et Credo, omniaque dei mandata in materna lingua tuos vere doceas parochianos. Insuper predica manifeste tempore competenti, ad minus diebus dominicis, ewangelium et epistolam in facie ecclesie omnibus accedentibus ad eandem, et quod a te sint sacramenta libere ministrata, sisque decimarum et oblacionum, que sunt pars dei, fidelis dispensator, primo tibi accipiens alimenta et tegimenta necessaria, non tamen omnia illicite delectabilia, residuum vero bonorum dei disponas discrete, cum aliqua eius parte tibi libros emendo legis dei [Macnab incorrectly translates this 'to pay what is exacted

Many of these concerns were common to other late-medieval reform movements, but the emphasis on the instruction in the vernacular, preaching, tithes being used for the poor, and – not least – the purchase of books, reinforce the Lollard themes of the first three epistles.⁴⁶

Although he is not mentioned in Walter Bower's *Scotichronicon*, there is little reason to doubt the authenticity of Folkhyrde's account. External evidence of his existence is provided by the English safe-conducts. Internal evidence from the epistles themselves lends credence to the account of Folkhyrde's riding about and distributing pamphlets, for the second letter refers back to the effects of the first, and the fourth to the first three (232, 235). That he at least irritated the authorities may be inferred from their two censures, and this may gauge a degree of popular influence for his teaching. If Sanderson is correct in connecting Folkhyrde to Lanarkshire, the potential contact with Ayrshire is intriguing.⁴⁷ Also important is the fact that the collected *schedulae* were sent to Prague, suggesting some communication between heretics within Scotland and those abroad. Although absent from all the chronicles of his own time and those of the Reformation, Folkhyrde was perhaps the most significant of the early Scottish Lollards.

B. The Lollards of Kyle

The most famous instance of Scottish Lollardy, an episode which provides a detailed portrait of late Lollard belief and establishes its connections to early evangelicalism, is the 1494 trial of the 'Lollards of Kyle'. Knox, from whose pen alone the account survives, writes in his *History* that

by the law of God': Macnab, 'Bohemia and Scottish Lollards', p. 13], aliquamque eius partem dando pauperibus parrochianis et aliis habentibus necessitatem, sic quod, considerato modo vivendi cuiuslibet christiani in suo genere, in tuo sis gradu minimis sumptibus contentus, a mundo maxime longinquus, in tua vita christo magis propinquus.'

⁴⁶ On Lollard book-ownership, see Hudson, *Premature Reformation*, pp. 200-208.

⁴⁷ Sanderson, *Ayrshire*, pp. 39-40.

he found the accusations in the 'Register of Glasgw' [*sic*], which is probably identical to the 'Scrollis' from which he had discovered an unnamed martyr of 1422.⁴⁸ This source, no longer extant, was almost certainly the register of the diocesan official.⁴⁹ From this register, Knox copied out 34 charges brought by Archbishop Robert Blackadder against some 30 persons from Kyle and Cunninghame. Among these 'LOLLARDIS OF KYLE' he names 'George Campbell of Sesnok, Adame Reid of Barskymming, Johne Campbell of New Mylnes, Andro Shaw of Polkemmate, Helen Chalmour Lady Pokillie, [Marion] Chalmours Lady Stairs'.⁵⁰ Before considering the charges themselves, it is useful to take account of the rest of Knox's story.

B.1 The trial

Knox does not specify the source for his tale of the trial itself, and it is not always clear which details come from the register and which from other sources. The first, unusual detail is that the trial was held before 'the King and his Great Counsell' – which is plausible, since the king was holding court in Glasgow 15-17 May 1494, and 'transacting juridicial business on the latter date'.⁵¹ In bringing the trial before the king, Blackadder may have had in mind the 1425 Act charging the secular power to help the church restrain

⁴⁸ Knox, *Works*, 1.5, 7.

⁴⁹ The former official, Patrick Leche, had died before 16 May 1494 (hence before the trial); although the first record of his successor David Cunningham does not appear until 1496, he may already have been in the office, which he held until his death in 1509: D.E.R. Watt, *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanæ Medii Aevii ad annum 1638* [hereafter *FESMA*] (Edinburgh: SRS, 1969), p. 189.

⁵⁰ Knox, *Works*, 1.7-8. According to Laing, a space was left for these names, which were apparently inserted later: *ibid.*, 1.7 n. 4; Dickinson does not draw attention to this in his edition. A blank was left for Lady Stairs' name, which was in fact Marion: *ibid.*, n. 5.

⁵¹ First quotation *ibid.*, 1.7; second quotation Norman MacDougall, *James IV* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1989), p. 106. Given Knox's details that the trial was in James IV's 22nd year, and in the sixth year of his reign, Dickinson notes that this would have fallen between 17 March and 10 June: Knox, *History*, 1.8 n. 1.

heresy; '[i]f so, presumably he was simply invoking secular aid to carry out sentence on heretics already condemned in his own diocesan court'.⁵²

Whether the archbishop pursued these heretics out of zeal for orthodoxy or political jealousy is uncertain; in either case he faced the dilemma that some of the accused were, in Knox's phrase, the king's 'great familiaris'.⁵³

The connections of the named Lollards of Kyle to James IV have been well-documented. By 4 Mar. 1504/5, George Campbell was sheriff-depute in Ayr, and on 30 Aug. 1511 was called the king's 'own familiar servitor'.⁵⁴ Likewise Adam Reid of Barskimming (= Starquhite) was rewarded by James on 15 Sept. 1498 'for good service', and on 27 Aug. the following year was again called servitor to the king – both times in charters witnessed by Blackadder.⁵⁵ Aside from these official notices, MacDougall notes another connection between the king and the accused. Campbell of Cessnock and Robert Mure, husband of Helen Chalmers, Lady Polkellie, witnessed documents in 1492 which place them in the 'Angus-Cunningham-Boyd camp', including Archibald Boyd, the father of Marion, the king's mistress. This connection, MacDougall surmises, was perhaps the reason for the archbishop's jealousy as well as the protection of the heretical group.⁵⁶

As far as Knox was concerned, these connections between judge and accused were but part of the reason that no punishment was handed down;

⁵² MacDougall, *James IV*, p. 106.

⁵³ Knox, *Works*, 1.11. for the suggestion of political jealousy: MacDougall, *James IV*, p. 107.

⁵⁴ '... familiari suo servitori': John Maitland Thomson, et al., eds, *Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scotorum: The Register of the Great Seal of Scotland* [hereafter RMS], 11 vols (Edinburgh: Register House, 1882-1914), 2: *A.D. 1424-1513*, ed James Balfour Paul (1882), pp. 603 (no. 2836), 786 (no. 3638). Sanderson specifies Campbell's tenure as sheriff-depute to 1500-5: Sanderson, *Ayrshire*, p. 44,

⁵⁵ '... pro bono servitio': RMS, 2.522-3 (no. 2454), 532 (no. 2500).

⁵⁶ MacDougall, *James IV*, p. 107.

the other reason was that Adam Reid offered 'bold and godly answeris' to the archbishop's charges. These came in rhyming fashion, and surely stem from family tradition rather than the official's register. Asked whether he believed God was in heaven, Reid answered cryptically, 'Not as I do the sacramentis sevin'. Charged by the king to explain himself, Reid clarified that God was both in heaven and on earth, and turned the accusation back at Blackadder:

yf thou fermelie beleved that God war in the heavin, thou should not mack thy self chek-meat [cf. 'cheek by jowl'] to the King, and altogether forgett the charge that Jesus Christ the Sone of God gave to his apostles, which was, to preach his Evangell, and not to play the proud prelatts, as all the rabill of yow do this day. And now, Sir, (said he to the King,) judge ye whither the Bischop or I beleve best that God is in heavin.⁵⁷

In logical terms, this was a red herring hurled *ad hominem*; nevertheless, it appears to have embarrassed the archbishop and his servants (they 'could not weill revenge thame selfis') and amused the king – in whose court, after all, flyting was being exchanged. James, 'willing to putt ane end to farther reassonyng', asked Reid, 'Will thou burne thy bill?' to which the laird answered, 'Sir, the Bischope and ye will'.⁵⁸ Burning one's bill was a phrase for recantation, but Reid's answer is slightly ambiguous. Was he using the conjunctive 'and', thus retorting either that the archbishop and king would burn his (or their?) bill, or that they would themselves burn; or, as Easson suggested, was this the concessive Scots 'an', hence telling the king that he would burn not only his bill but Blackadder as well, should James so desire?⁵⁹ In light of the fact that Knox groups this with 'lyik scoffis' which

⁵⁷ Knox, *Works*, 1.11-12.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 1.12.

⁵⁹ D.E. Easson, 'The Lollards of Kyle', *Juridical Review* 48 (1936): 123-8 (pp. 127-8).

rendered the accusations 'turned to lawchter', the former suggestions seem unlikely; Easson's interpretation appears to satisfy the humorous context as well as winsomeness to the king.

Easson claimed that Reid's final salvo indicated his willingness to recant. Knox did not include any comment on the official outcome of the trial; if it was recantation, this staunch opponent of Nicodemism might well have seen fit to exclude the *dénouement*. The Lollard disdain for oaths, which is included in the charges against the Lollards of Kyle (art. 21), led some to recant readily, assuming that the oath could not mean anything.⁶⁰

Sanderson believes the Lollards of Kyle to have recanted, citing the attestations offered to George and John Campbell on 9 March 1503/4 from Blackadder, an incident which 'echoes the English practice of documenting the process of abjuration by issuing copies of the charges laid against the accused.... [which] was seen by the heretics as a safeguard against being falsely accused at a later date'.⁶¹ The record of the attestations in the protocol book of Cuthbert Simson only mentions a charge of heresy, and names the two accused.⁶² The fact that attestations were offered (and probably had been requested) 'may suggest some unfinished business, may even hint at further accusations'; however, both father and son appear to have continued in good social standing, given George's position as sheriff-depute and 'regular crown gifts' to John during 1507-13.⁶³

⁶⁰ Hudson, *Premature Reformation*, pp. 158, 372-4.

⁶¹ Sanderson, *Ayrshire*, p. 43.

⁶² Joseph Bain and Charles Rogers, eds, *Liber Protocolorum M. Cuthberti Simonis Notarii Publici et Scribae Capituli Glasguensis A.D. 1499-1513*, also *Rental Book of Diocese of Glasgow A.D. 1509-1570*, 2 vols, Grampian Club vol. 8 (London: Grampian Club, 1875), 1.298 (ET), 2.50 (L), in both cases no. 66.

⁶³ Sanderson, *Ayrshire*, p. 44.

Sanderson is certainly correct to maintain that '[a] public abjuration ... would in the interests of safety have the effect of sending their activities if any underground'.⁶⁴ While the Campbells maintained their social importance, and others of the named accused appear regularly in records (often witnessing documents for others in the circle), they might well have carried on meeting in secret. In fact, their connections to the king and to powerful Ayrshire families may have prevented the ecclesiastical authorities from prying too closely into their affairs.⁶⁵ But even if recantation did not necessarily indicate a theological *volte-face*, subsequent orthodoxy in religious practice might. Easson maintained that Reid of Barskimming reverted to orthodox practice, citing the laird's close relations to powerful churchmen, his witnessing of a relative's presentation to a collegiate church in 1506, a dispensation for him to go on pilgrimage to Canterbury and France in 1507, and an appeal in 1523 to Rome concerning the estate of his late relative Martin Reid.⁶⁶ Easson's point has much to commend it, for Lollards discounted the masses for the dead said in collegiate churches, they disapproved of pilgrimages, and they despised the pope.

Sanderson, however, has argued that Reid's actions do not constitute a clear-cut case for his rejection of Lollardy. Witnessing the grant of a chaplainry, she says, 'need not imply a change of opinion, only an adjustment of conscience'; moreover, refusal to do so might have endangered the recanted heretic. While acknowledging that a pilgrimage would be out of character for a Lollard, Sanderson suggests that this might

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 43.

⁶⁵ E.g., George Campbell of Cessnock was married to Jonet daughter of Hugh Montgomerie, first earl Eglinton; his son John was married to Janet, daughter of Hugh Campbell of Loudon, Sheriff of Ayr: James Balfour Paul, ed., *The Scots Peerage*, 9 vols (Edinburgh: David Douglas, 1904-14): 3.438 (George); 5.495 (John).

⁶⁶ Easson, 'Lollards of Kyle', pp. 126-7.

have been penance for the initial offence – though Durkan notes the improbability that penance would have been imposed ‘a decade and more after the trial’.⁶⁷ Finally, as for the appeal to Rome, this does not necessarily indicate any theological allegiance; rather, Rome was the appropriate legal body in this situation.⁶⁸ It may be indicative of Reid’s eventual commitment that his grandson signed the Protestant Band of Ayr in 1562, and that Knox’s local sources maintained Reid as the hero of the episode.⁶⁹

B.2 The charges

It appears reasonable to assume that the Lollards of Kyle recanted, but some at least did not give up their dissenting beliefs or practices. While Knox’s account of the trial is probably taken from family tradition – and he was staying with a descendent of Campbell of Cessnock while writing Book 1 – his list of the charges against them was lifted, as he says, from the diocesan register book. There is little reason to doubt the authenticity of the list, for Knox himself is uncomfortable with its contents but leaves them unchanged (though annotated). Thomson notes that ‘the date of the trial coincides with the intensification of persecution in England’, and that the charges are ‘similar in both form and content to the charges found in the contemporary English episcopal records’, featuring the common accusations of opposition to images and transubstantiation, and probably pilgrimages as well.⁷⁰ Thus the charges must be taken seriously as a gauge of heretical

⁶⁷ Sanderson, *Ayrshire*, p. 44; John Durkan, review of *Ayrshire and the Reformation* by Margaret H.B. Sanderson, in *IR* 49 (1998): 89-90 (p. 90).

⁶⁸ Sanderson, *Ayrshire*, p. 44. Similarly, the ‘Castilians’ at St Andrews – at least some of whom were convinced Protestants – were willing to bargain for a papal dispensation in 1547.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

⁷⁰ Thomson, *Later Lollards*, pp. 204-5 n. 6, 206. The list of the charges appears in Knox, *Works*, 1.8-10; *History*, 1.8-9.

belief. In the following examination of the charges, the basic reference-point for comparison to English Lollardy will be Anne Hudson's definitive volume *The Premature Reformation*, which draws on extensive Wycliffite sources and offers a useful synthetic analysis; some competing interpretations will also receive mention.

Some of the charges accuse the Lollards of Kyle of rejecting the customary practices of the church: that they reject the owning of images, and the worshipping of them or relics (articles 1-2); that tithes should not be paid (art. 8); that episcopal blessings are meaningless (art. 19); that excommunication should not be feared and is not binding (arts 20, 25); that swearing was permissible 'in to no case' (art. 21); that priests might marry (art. 22); that the church cannot grant divorce (art. 24); that 'miracules' should not be believed (art. 27); that prayer should be made only to God and not to Mary, and that it need not be made in a church (arts 28-29).

In this list is the very common Lollard opposition to images and relics, the latter of which Thomson believes may imply pilgrimages as well.⁷¹ Also similar to the belief of Lollards in England is the opposition to tithes, though this may have been overstated by the accusers; south of the border, tithes were not denied in every case, but the individual was to decide whether the priest or the poor truly needed the money. The practice of excommunication was likewise consistently denied by Lollards elsewhere, especially when it was used simply to extract tithes; presumably the charge regarding episcopal blessings, whether or not it was accurate, was added to show a logical and undesirable consequent of this belief. The characteristically Lollard denunciation of oaths in article 21 may, as has been noted, have had wider implications regarding recantation. Likewise, clerical marriage was held to be permissible and even desirable by many Lollards. Prayer directed to God

⁷¹ Thomson, *Later Lollards*, p. 206.; see also Hudson, *Premature Reformation*, pp. 301-9.

without intermediaries was another hallmark of Lollard belief which was used in English heresy trials, as was the related claim that prayer need not be made in church.⁷²

Other charges regarding religious practice are more enigmatic and do not have clear parallels in English Lollardy. Article 24, '[t]hat after matrimonye be contracted, the Kyrk may mack no divorcement', is unusual in two respects: it does not appear to be a standard Lollard position, and it does not appear to be heretical, '[u]nless it is the denial of ecclesiastical jurisdiction and of the power of the church courts'.⁷³ Likewise article 27, '[t]hat fayth should not be gevin to miracules', is curious: unless it refers to allegedly miraculous shrines to which pilgrims might travel, this has little connection to other Lollard belief or pressing concerns of the church.

A second focus of the charges has to do with the papacy. The charge '[t]hat Lawis and Ordinances of men vary from tyme to tyme, and that by the Pape' was a slightly roundabout way of stating that papal laws contradicted each other (art. 3).⁷⁴ Further, the Lollards of Kyle were said to hold that Christ gave the power of binding and loosing only to Peter and not 'to his successouris' (art. 5); that the pope is only the successor to Peter in the sense of Christ's statement 'Go behynd me, Sathan' (art. 12); the pope, along with his bishops, deceives people with bulls, indulgences (including for crusades), and pardons, for he cannot forgive sins or ease purgation after death (arts 13, 15, 16, 18, 26); that in harsher terms, the pope exalts himself against and above God, is the head of the Church of Antichrist, and that he and the prelates are murderers and thieves (arts 17, 32, 33, 34). The related

⁷² *Ibid.*, pp. 152-3, 339-45, esp. 342 n. 153 (tithes), 301, 342 (excommunication), 158, 371-4 (oaths), 292, 357-8 (clerical marriage), 196, 310-13, 322-3 (prayer).

⁷³ Thomson, *Later Lollards*, p. 206 n. 1.

⁷⁴ Dickinson believed this to mean 'without regard to' or 'despite', though an instrumental use of the preposition makes more sense: Knox, *History*, p. 8 n. 3.

charges concerning excommunication and clerical marriage have already been mentioned.

These charges bear a striking resemblance to the position on the papacy amongst English Lollards. The discrepancies in papal law were mentioned in the *Thirty-Seven Conclusions* and elsewhere, sometimes adding that papal law should be judged by Scripture. Binding and loosing were said by other Lollards to belong to Peter rather than his successors, and the suggestion that the pope only succeeds Peter in the rebuke of Mt. 16.23 resonates with Lollard denials of Petrine succession. Related to the power of the keys, indulgences and pardons were a point of attack for Lollards generally. Oral confession was seriously questioned, and absolution, whether by priest or by pope, was seen as a denial that it was God who forgave – a distinction made by the Kyle group in art. 26. Indulgences substituted money for contrition, and were opposed by Lollards, with varying explanations offered why the pope was unable to remit sins or to credit works of supererogation. Included in some Lollard denunciations of indulgences was the complaint against crusades. That the people were deceived by these practices was also held by other Lollards, particularly with regard to the poor who could not afford to purchase indulgences. As for the stronger statements, Lollards generally held that the pope was Antichrist, hence exalting himself above God. Article 33, which states that the pope and prelates are ‘murtheraris’ may simply be an additional invective *ad hominem*, but the final article, which calls them ‘thevis and robbaris’, along with the refusal of tithes in article eight, reflects the typical Lollard (and earlier) reluctance to pay for clerical services, leading to a call for the disendowment

of the clergy, which had appeared eighty-four years earlier in Scotland in Folkhyrde's *schedulae*.⁷⁵

A third group of charges against the Lollards of Kyle introduces the crucial issue of the mass. Article six states that the accused held that 'Christ ordeyned no Preastis to consecrat', an ambiguous charge either specifying a denial that *only* priests could consecrate or a denial that Christ had instituted *any* special ordination to the consecration of the sacrament. Article seven denies transubstantiation: '[t]hat after the consecratioun in the Messe, thare remanes braid; and that thair is nott the naturall body of Christ.' Related to the rejection of indulgences is the claim that the mass does not aid those in Purgatory (art. 14). As for what they affirmed about the Eucharist, the Lollards of Kyle are accused of holding '[t]hat trew Christianes receave the body of Jesus Christ everie day' (art. 23), though the charge does not explain how they believe this happens. A final eucharistic charge, article 31, states that worship of the Eucharist is idolatrous.

On the subject of the Eucharist, there was a degree of unanimity amongst Lollards in England, particularly regarding the rejection of transubstantiation. But divergences existed regarding the nature of the real presence and eligibility to consecrate the elements, and the Lollards of Kyle may have been on the more radical side of these divides. The claim that Christ ordained no priests to consecrate may reflect the denial by more radical Lollards of the distinction of clergy and laity, expressed in the early sixteenth century in Denham 'God neither made priests, for in Christ's time there were no priests'; but it may also reflect the less radical claim that lay people could consecrate the elements just like they could baptize in

⁷⁵ Hudson, *Premature Reformation*, p. 331 (papal law), 329 (binding and loosing), 329, 331-2 (Petrine succession), 294-8 (oral confession and absolution), 299-301 (indulgences), 333-4 (antichrist), 341-2 (tithes), 334-46 (disendowment).

emergencies. It may be instructive in this regard that no accusations bearing on Donatist belief, the typically less radical Lollard stance, are found in the Kyle list. As for transubstantiation, the Lollards of Kyle were well in line with their English brethren, even in the wording of the charge – that bread remains after consecration. That masses do not benefit those in Purgatory was a natural consequent of Lollard denials of the efficacy of prayers for the dead and indulgences. The positive belief that true Christians receive the body of Christ daily is more enigmatic, though it may find a parallel in the 1499 confession of John Whitehorn and John Lydtister that ‘whoosoeuer resceive devoutly Goddis word, he resceywith the verrey body of Criste’. That the worship of the sacrament was idolatrous probably accords with other Lollard concerns that Christ, not the bread and wine, should be the focus of the participant. Although the Kyle group appears to have been on the more radical side of Lollard eucharistic thought, none of the charges appears to place them in the most radical fringe of those who denigrated the sacrament, referring to it as evil and, in some instances, saving the bread in order to eat or burn it later.⁷⁶

Purgatory has already been mentioned in other contexts, but has a significant role in the charges against the Kyle Lollards. Articles 13, 14, and 16 attack papal and episcopal indulgences and pardons; article 15 claims that the mass does not profit those in Purgatory. Article 18 specifies that the pope cannot ‘remitt the panes of purgatorye’, and article 26 that he cannot forgive sins. Early Lollards in England did not necessarily reject the

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 325-7 (lay consecration and Denham citation); 316-18 (Donatism); 281-6 (transubstantiation); 309-10 (prayers for dead); 285 (Whitehorn and Lydtister citation); 282-3, 289 (Christ the focus of participants); 289-90 (denigration of eucharist). Swinderby in 1382 argued that a priest in mortal sin who attempted to consecrate ‘potius committit idolatriam quam conficit’, offering at least one other reference to idolatrous eucharistic practice: *ibid.*, p. 283.

existence of Purgatory, only the power of the pope regarding it; later Lollards, however, rejected its very existence. Both Thomson and Hudson comment on the ambiguity of the Kyle charges, since they are not worded as denials of the existence of the intermediary state; the latter believes that the charges nevertheless point to the usual Lollard denial.⁷⁷

Another important Lollard belief was the priesthood of all believers, mentioned in article ten. It is possible that article six, which denies that Christ ordained priests to consecrate, reinforces this position by implying that any believer may consecrate the eucharist. Hudson observes that the Lollard position differs from the later Protestant view in that the former is strictly the 'priesthood of those predestined'. This doctrine was taken by many Lollards to mean that lay people could preach and perform the sacraments – in some cases including women, which is intriguing in light of the fact that Knox includes two women amongst the six he names from Kyle.⁷⁸

In many Lollard trials, both before and after Oldcastle's revolt, the defendants were charged with sedition, an important step in making them unpopular with the ruling authorities and communities to whom stability was often a matter of life or death. In Kyle, sedition is suggested by article nine, '[t]hat Christ at his cuming has tackin away power from Kingis to judge', and article eleven, '[t]hat the unction of Kingis ceased at the cuming of Christ'. Both articles are somewhat unusual, though the former may have its roots in the customary Lollard statements that dominion is contingent upon purity of life, and perhaps also expresses the scripture principle with regard to law, a principle stated by William Emayn in 1429, 'Hit is not lawful

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 194, 309-10; Thomson, *Later Lollards*, p. 206.

⁷⁸ Hudson, *Premature Reformation*, pp. 325-7 (priesthood of predestined and women), 99, 137 (women).

to the king ... to binde the puple of his reaume to kepe and execute such ordinances and statutes, but [*unless*] thay be founded and grounded in Cristis gospel'.⁷⁹ In any case, even a more robustly-worded charge of sedition was unlikely to convince James IV that his familiar servitors were in fact dangerous traitors.

Lollard attitudes to war may be found in article four, '[t]hat it is not lauchfull to feght, or to defend the fayth'; the denial of indulgences for a crusade 'against the Saracenes' reinforces this position (art. 16). Pacifism was a common charge against Lollards, but as Hudson notes, it is difficult to generalize, for the issue was only broached if pacifism was suspected and other Lollards seem to take a very different approach, such as the Lollard knights (cf. also the extreme Taborites in Bohemia). If article four in fact advocates complete pacifism, it must be located on the more radical end of the Lollard spectrum. However, the addition of 'defend the fayth', coupled with the disparaging reference to crusades in article 16, may indicate a more specific argument against crusades, which was characteristic of Lollardy from an early date, due especially to Bishop Despenser's crusade in 1383.⁸⁰

An important, if isolated charge in the Kyle list is '[t]hat we ar nott bound to beleve all that the Doctouris of the Kyrk have writtin' (art. 30). While the Lollard-glossed gospels made extensive use of the Fathers (often through Aquinas's *Catena Aurea*), there was a range of doubts about their authority, with the extreme position that they were all heretics. 'Doctors' might also refer to contemporary biblical scholarship, where Lollard concern could be expressed in the catchphrase, 'however many subjects, just as many opinions'. However, some recent scholars, particularly Grosseteste, were appreciated by Lollards. The charge against the Kyle group was relatively

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 359-62 (dominion), 375-8 (scripture principle and Emayn citation).

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 367-70 (pacifism).

mild; it may imply the scripture principle, by which the doctors would be accepted so long as they accorded with holy writ, but not that they should be rejected or condemned. The implication of the scripture principle here and in article nine is important, for this hallmark of Lollard belief was not made otherwise explicit in the Kyle charges.⁸¹

Given that this list appears to have been written by the accusers, it is natural to question how accurately it portrays the beliefs of the accused. The similarity of these charges to Lollard belief in England, their general internal coherence, and the dissenting continuity in the families accused suggest that the list can be considered, with caution, as a gauge of the Kyle group's theology. But evaluation is made more difficult by the fact that specific replies to the charges have not been preserved, as these might have clarified the specifics of the group's belief.

Related to this problem is a debate amongst historians of Lollardy regarding sources. Some scholars have drawn for their evidence most heavily on episcopal records like the Kyle list, admittedly hostile sources, due in part to the paucity of new Lollard writing after the 1430s, when the movement's connection to the universities was severed.⁸² Hudson, however, has advocated the use of Wycliffite texts as the most important source for Lollard historiography; while acknowledging the lack of new writing in the later period, she has stressed the continued copying and use of earlier texts, and the 'extraordinary identity' of early and late Lollard beliefs in recorded abjurations.⁸³ However, the question of sources is of secondary importance

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 250-8 (glossed gospels), 209-14 (Lollard sources for patristic quotation, Grosseteste), 274-7 ('quot capita tot sentencie'; church fathers *vis-à-vis* Bible).

⁸² See K.B. McFarlane, *Wycliffe and English Non-Conformity* (Harmondsworth: Pelican, 1972), pp. 166-8; Thomson, *Later Lollards*, p. 244.

⁸³ Hudson, *Premature Reformation*, pp. 7-9, 59, 451-6 (quotation 456), 468-70. Thomson has recently stated that the two approaches are 'mutually complementary', representing

in the study of Scottish Lollardy, owing to the paucity of sources generally. For no individual Scottish case are both types of evidence available. Hence a confident evaluation of the agreement of the charges with the beliefs of the Lollards of Kyle is not possible, except insofar as supportive evidence may be cited from their practice. At least in one case qualification is necessary: as for sedition, the familiar servitors of the king may have held the views condemned in the list, but they were not traitors; while George Campbell of Cessnock was rescued because of his loyalty in this incident, the same loyalty would cost him his life at Flodden.⁸⁴

Insofar as they are accurate, the accusations show the Kyle group to be well in line with the general consensus of Lollard belief. This is, of course, to assume that there was such a thing as coherent Lollard belief, another contentious point in Lollard scholarship. To Thomson, 'one cannot talk of a single Lollard creed'; he prefers it to be characterized rather as 'a set of more or less consistent attitudes than as a set of carefully worked-out doctrines'.⁸⁵ Hudson maintains the opposite, arguing for 'a coherence in the Lollard creed despite differences of emphasis' centred on 'the primacy of scripture'.⁸⁶ An issue in this debate is the importance of the more radical beliefs preserved in episcopal records: do they demonstrate the disunity of Lollard doctrinal belief, or are they isolated aberrations, provoked by clever inquisitors? Both Thomson and Hudson agree that the individual on trial may have been led to affirm something bizarre, particularly when it was outwith the purview of the instruction he or she normally received. But they differ on the

different facets of Lollardy: J.A.F. Thomson, 'Knightly Piety and the Margins of Lollardy', in *Lollardy and the Gentry in the Later Middle Ages*, ed Margaret Aston and Colin Richmond (Stroud: Sutton, 1997), pp. 95-111 (p. 95).

⁸⁴ Paul, *Scots Peerage*, 3.438.

⁸⁵ Thomson, *Later Lollards*, pp. 239 (quotation), 250.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 279-80, 382-9 (quotation 389).

representative nature of these charges. To Thomson, they reveal disunity; to Hudson, they have no parallel in Wycliffite texts and must be regarded as abnormal, particularly in light of the fact that the accused were not given a chance to explain the reasons behind their expressed beliefs.⁸⁷

Following Hudson's argumentation, it appears that the enigmatic beliefs attributed to the Kyle group may simply have wanted further explanation. It is certainly not difficult to envisage that this is the case with the charges of denial of episcopal blessing (art. 19), divorce (art. 24), miracles (art. 27), the affirmation that true Christians receive the body of Christ daily (art. 23) and that the anointment of kings ceased with the coming of Christ (art. 11). The presence of these enigmatic charges has led to assessments of the list as 'in places contradictory' or 'confused and unintelligible', but this is to miss the remarkable congruence of belief between the Lollards of Kyle with their English counterparts.⁸⁸

Thus it seems safe to assume that the accusations against the Lollards of Kyle are broadly accurate, and that they fall into line with beliefs which can be called characteristically Lollard. These beliefs bear substantial resemblance to sixteenth-century Protestantism, particularly in the high view of scripture (although only implied in the Kyle list), the affirmation of clerical disendowment, clerical marriage, and the priesthood of all believers; and the rejection of images and relics, the papacy, transubstantiation, Purgatory, and indulgences. But there are important differences. The Kyle group's apparently radical views on pacifism, oath-taking, divorce, and possibly low view of monarchy would have seemed alien to a continentally-influenced Protestant. Moreover, on some topics crucial for Protestants, Lollards, including those in Kyle, were silent. They give no indication of

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 383-6; Thomson, *Later Lollards*, p. 239.

⁸⁸ For the quotations, MacDougall, *James IV*, p. 106; Easson, 'Lollards of Kyle', p. 128.

utraquism in their eucharistic belief.⁸⁹ Nor is there reference to justification by faith in the Kyle list – though the traditional view that Lollardy entirely lacked this doctrine may seriously be challenged. Hudson, acknowledging that justification does not act as the rallying-point for Lollards that it did for Protestants, nevertheless cites Lollard articulation of the concept.⁹⁰ It may be that solafideism is broadly implied by articles concerning indulgences in the Kyle list. In any case, the list looked generally familiar to Knox.

At a more general level, many have claimed that Lollardy was hampered in comparison to Protestantism because it was mostly negative, and lacked ‘some clear doctrine or some strong sentiment’.⁹¹ Thomson modifies this, mentioning the positive elements of ‘scriptural fundamentalism’ and ‘common-sense rationalism’, in a very general sense. Hudson argues that the former was in fact the ‘central unifying force’ of Lollard doctrine.⁹² The negative beliefs espoused by the Lollards of Kyle do not always have an implied positive alternative, but the limits of the evidence must be borne in mind. To Blackadder, what was important was the Kyle group’s rejection of transubstantiation, not the articulation of any competing eucharistic theology which they might have endorsed. Moreover, some views were positive, such as the priesthood of all believers; others *prima facie* negative, such as the denial of clerical celibacy, have unavoidable positive implications.

Knox, like Foxe and many other early-modern chroniclers, saw considerable overlap between these Lollard tenets and the theology of

⁸⁹ Hudson, *Premature Reformation*, p. 289.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 383.

⁹¹ Alexander R. MacEwen, *A History of the Church in Scotland*, 2 vols (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1913): 1.385-6.

⁹² Thomson, *Later Lollards*, pp. 244-9 (quotation 244); Hudson, *Premature Reformation*, p. 383.

Protestant reformers. However, Knox's comments on the Kyle accusations reveal either some ignorance of Lollardy on his part, or his desire to portray the Lollards as more Protestant than they in fact were. In the course of the list itself, Knox adds parenthetical remarks to this effect. In article four, Knox owns, apparently apologetically, 'We translait according to the barbarousnes of thair Latine and dictament', though the English belies no real problems (perhaps he was thinking back to article three's clause 'and that by the Pape', which might have seemed awkward in the original). Article eight qualifies the phrase 'Ecclesiasticall men, (as thei war then called.)', a characteristically Knoxian slur again used in article 19, where he comments on bishops, 'dum doggis thei should have bein stilled [= styled]'. In article 31, Knox is probably correct to specify 'Sacrament of the altar' for the charge's 'Sacrament of the Kyrk'. In article nine, however, Knox introduces a more serious qualification. The charge that Christ had taken away the power of kings to judge clearly made Knox uncomfortable:

This article we dowbt not to be the vennemouse accusatioun of the ennemyes, whose practise has ever bene to mack the doctrin of Jesus Christ suspect to Kings and rewillaris, as that God thairby wold depose thame of thair royall seittis, whare by the contrair, nothing confermes the power of magistratis more then dois Goddis wourd (Knox, *Works*, 1.8-9).

Knox was correct that inquisitors were keen to taint the accused with sedition; given his own views on justified rebellion and his disfavour with Queen Elizabeth, it is not surprising that he should qualify this charge. But his comment leaves unclear his understanding of the Lollard belief in question, perhaps because the unclear wording of the charge puzzled him as much as it does the modern reader.

In comments immediately following the list, Knox continues his evaluation. He acknowledges that 'some thingis be obscurly, and some

thingis scabruslie spokin', but this is because the list was drawn up by the 'ennemies of Jesus Christ', who in order to accuse 'wold deprave the meanyng of Goddis servandis so far as thei could'.⁹³ This is the case with the articles on excommunication (arts 20, 25), swearing (art. 21), and divorce (art. 24). These opinions, according to Knox, were reactions to abuses prevalent at the time, and 'it is no dowbt but the servandis of God did dampne the abuse only, and not the rycht ordinance of God'.⁹⁴ Here Knox either misunderstood Lollardy, or was attempting to protestantize it, for Lollards generally held views on excommunication and swearing which would have been unpalatable to Protestants. (The article on divorce, as has been mentioned, is unclear.) In either case, it is interesting that he did not simply alter the list when transmitting it, but chose rather to add his own comments.

Other early-modern historians of the Scottish church adopted the same interpretative approach. Calderwood omitted Knox's parenthetical comments in the list (apart from the innocuous addition to art. 8), but reiterated the belief that 'manie of these articles are forged, to make them odious', in the same way as this had happened in England, France, and the early church. Calderwood had read a history of the Waldensians by Jean-Paul Perrin, and compares the unjust accusations against them to those against the Kyle group. Among the Waldensian charges he lists free-love,

⁹³ This was not a view unique to Knox; the editor of the Thorpe and Oldcastle trials (possibly Tyndale) comments: 'For this is their caste euer when they haue put to deathe or punyshed any man / after their secrete examynacyon / to slaunder hym of soche thynges as he neuer thought. As they may do well Jnough: seynge there is no man to contrarye them': *The examinacion of Master William Thorpe ... The examinacion of the honorable knight syr Jhon[n] Oldcastell Lorde Cohbam* (Antwerp: Hoochstraten, 1530); repr. vol. 766 of *The English Experience* (Amsterdam and Norwood, NJ: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, Ltd., and Walter J. Johnson, Inc., 1975), fol. A.ii.r.

⁹⁴ Knox, *Works*, 1.10-11.

casual divorce, denial of oaths, and denial that magistrates could impose the death penalty. Citing Perrin, he claims that these charges are all false. As was the case with the Waldensians, the charge of pacifism against the Lollards of Kyle (art. 4) has more to do with their opposition to the Crusades; their refusal to pay tithes (art. 8) was hypothetical – only ‘if it had lyen in their power’; they only disregarded the *abuse* of excommunication (arts 20, 25); the accusation regarding sedition (art. 9) was only a ploy to enrage the ruler.⁹⁵

Spottiswoode offers a more succinct version of the list, copying only 21 of Knox’s 34 charges (Knox’s arts 3, 15, and 24-34 are omitted; arts 22 and 23 are merged into Spottiswoode’s art. 20).⁹⁶ Polemical aims may not have brought about this truncation, for Spottiswoode adds his own twofold disclaimer: ‘whether or not they did hold all those opinions may well be doubted, seeing we have them only from the report of adversaries, whose chief study was to make them and their doctrine odious’; but on the other hand, if the charges are true, ‘we are not to wonder that in the first breaking up of the light, men saw not the truth in every point, considering the darkness and gross ignorance of preceding times’. Thus he would have had little reason to omit articles he thought dubious. Other interesting features in Spottiswoode’s account are his rewording of Knox’s art. 9 to a much

⁹⁵ David Calderwood, *The History of the Kirk of Scotland*, 8 vols (Edinburgh: Wodrow Society, 1842-49), 1.50-54. Calderwood also omits the second phrase in art. 7, ‘and that thair is nott the naturall body of Christ’, and reverses the order of arts 11-12. In art. 31, he changes Knox’s ‘Sacrament of the Kyrk’ to ‘sacrament in the kirk’, and in art. 32 ‘Kyrk of Antichrist’ to ‘Antichrist’: *ibid.*, 1.50-51.

⁹⁶ John Spottiswoode, *History of the Church of Scotland beginning the year of our Lord 203, and continued to the end of the reign of King James VI*, trans. and ed by M. Russell [and Mark Napier], 3 vols (Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, 1851), 1.120-21. The collation of Knox’s articles with those in Spottiswoode: 1-1, 2-2, 3-x, 4-3, 5-4, 6-5, 7-6, 8-7, 9-8, 10-9, 11-10, 12-11, 13-12, 14-13, 15-x, 16-15, 17-16, 18-17, 19-14, 20-18, 21-19, 22-20a, 23-20b, {24-34}-x.

clearer and more seditious 'That Christ at his coming did abrogate the power of secular princes'; his comment that the Kyle group were 'by an opprobrious title called Lollards'; and his addition that they were released 'with an admonition to take heed of new doctrines, and content themselves with the faith of the Church', not present in other accounts.⁹⁷

Thus Knox and his historiographical successors saw the Lollards of Kyle as theological forbears who had been misrepresented by their accusers – or if not, they could be forgiven for aberrations at this time. Their assumption that the Kyle group did not hold beliefs alien to Protestant theology was, as modern research shows, incorrect; however, the similarities of doctrine are indeed striking. More important is the fact that the Lollards themselves seem to have had little reservation toward Protestant doctrine when it arrived. As will be discussed in ch. 2, one connected to the Kyle group in its second (or more?) generation, adapted a Protestant document which must have seemed familiar enough to him.

A more conservative appraisal of the Lollards of Kyle is offered by Frank Bardgett. He claims that the Lollards of Kyle 'certainly took a low view of the sacraments and papal powers, but in other respects they had not seceded from the R[oman] C[atholic] C[hurch]'.⁹⁸ It is not clear what Bardgett means by 'seceded', an unfortunate ambiguity in this context. In any sense of the word, however, the position appears untenable. To begin with, it underestimates the significance of the eucharistic views and anti-papalism in the Kyle charges. Surely denial of transubstantiation and the efficacy of masses for the dead, along with the claim that the pope (not an individual pope, but *all* popes) is the head of the church of Antichrist constitutes a profound departure from orthodoxy. Second, Bardgett's

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 1.121.

⁹⁸ Frank D. Bardgett, 'Lollards', in *DSCHT*, p. 494.

interpretation ignores the 'other respects' of 'secession' present in the list: serious charges of heresy regarding excommunication, images, indulgences, prayer, the Virgin Mary, forgiveness, and the Fathers. Of course there were grey areas in which the division between reformist orthodoxy and moderate heresy was blurred,⁹⁹ but the Kyle charges, although not exhaustive, represent thoroughly and consistently heretical belief – though not physical secession.

Bardgett seems to base his argument on the assumption that '[t]he doctrinal accusations against them may have stemmed from a desire to view opposition to the tithe in the worst possible light – to take venal anticlericalism as full-blown Lollardy'.¹⁰⁰ Bardgett cites the example of David Straiton, laird of Woodstone (Mearns), whose excommunication for refusing to pay the tithe on the fish he caught led to an accusation of heresy.¹⁰¹ While Straiton's case does appear to fit the pattern Bardgett describes, it can hardly be called a parallel case to that of Kyle, which took place forty years earlier on the other side of the country, and under considerably different ecclesiastical conditions. The stronger evidence Bardgett offers is that James IV 'was not impressed by Blackadder's prosecution', which might indicate that the charges had little evidence to support them. However, given that the king's clemency seems to have been connected to the personal service of the accused, and especially given the continued dissenting practice of some of the Kyle families, the conclusion that in Kyle there was a supportable accusation of Lollardy seems inescapable.

B.3 Heretical activities

⁹⁹ Hudson, *Premature Reformation*, pp. 421-30.

¹⁰⁰ Bardgett, 'Lollards', p. 494.

¹⁰¹ Knox, *Works*, 1.58-60, 520; Bardgett, *Scotland Reformed*, p. 22.

If the Lollards of Kyle were not misrepresented as heretics owing to simple anticlericalism, there is nevertheless little in Knox's account regarding what religious activities they practised. Corroborative evidence exists that some held underground meetings at which the vernacular Bible was read, but the list itself does not comment on these and offers few hints of other customs. Article eight suggests that the Kyle group were reluctant to pay tithes. The charge that prayer was as good outside a church as within (art. 29) shows the inward focus of Lollard religion, and perhaps suggests a laxity in church-attendance. The accusations regarding images and relics offer a hint of Lollard 'puritanism' in worship, but do not indicate private meetings. Nor, aside perhaps from the prohibition of oath-taking (art. 21), are there charges related to 'puritanism' of conduct, enjoined by Lollards as well as some orthodox preachers.¹⁰² Further practices might be suggested by analogy to English Lollardy, but only as speculation.

Hence it is difficult to comment on the Lollards of Kyle as a group. One of the historiographical difficulties in the study of Lollardy generally is that the occupation of the accused is not often specified in official records. Of the Kyle group, only six are named, all from the gentry. This inverts the normal pattern south of the border, where gentry were often immune from prosecution for heresy, even though some favoured Wycliffite beliefs and in some cases protected and sponsored Lollards.¹⁰³ It may be reasonable to speculate that the other 24 were other members of these dissenting households, but the listing of two noblewomen and not their husbands remains curious. That the thirty were accused together suggests strongly that they were seen by the authorities as a recognizable group. Such a

¹⁰² Hudson, *Premature Reformation*, p. 387.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, pp. 128-33; Aston and Richmond, *Lollardy and the Gentry*, p. 20 (non-prosecution of gentry), and *passim*.

regionally widespread group (Knox notes that they came from Kyle-Stewart, King's Kyle, and Cunninghame) is plausible, for while the household was the normal center of Lollard religious activity in England, networks of Lollards might exist in a given region.¹⁰⁴

Knox would later refer to Kyle as 'a receptacle of Goddis servandis of old', and its reputation as such is justified.¹⁰⁵ Although the charges against the Lollards of Kyle are ultimately unverifiable, the attestations granted the Campbells years later demonstrate that a heresy trial had taken place. Moreover, a related account was penned by Alesius within forty years, and Knox was close to direct descendents of the accused. Substantial evidence thus supports Knox's account. In a sense, Cowan was correct to label the appearance of the group as 'inexplicable', but he was too dismissive of their commitment and influence. He points out that the Ayrshire ecclesiastical establishment was not affected, and that no 'religious agitation' followed the trial.¹⁰⁶ Both statements are true, but neither answers a relevant question. The Lollards of Kyle were by definition an underground group, and the absence of upheaval shows their success in remaining so. Nor were they the only group of their kind in Scotland.

C. Other Lollard conventicles

Other evidence, however, may be cited for late Lollard practice in the south-west of Scotland, which resembles Lollard 'schools' in England. That

¹⁰⁴ Hudson, *Premature Reformation*, pp. 134-6 (families), 136-9 (geographical spread). It is worth bearing in mind that the accused also appeared regularly in Edinburgh and Stirling on official business..

¹⁰⁵ Knox, *Works*, 1.105.

¹⁰⁶ Cowan, 'Regional Aspects', pp. 7-8. Macfarlane seems to suggest that concern regarding Lollard activity may have been part of the rationale for forming a Faculty of Theology at Aberdeen: Leslie J. Macfarlane, *William Elphinstone and The Kingdom of Scotland 1431-1514: The Struggle for Order* (Aberdeen: AUP, 1985), pp. 305-7.

Lollardy in England was a self-conscious movement in which adherents looked to Wycliffe as a founder may be shown from both sides of the sources debate.¹⁰⁷ If Lollards saw themselves as part of a sect, the question becomes more acute: did they see their sect as an alternative church, and did it function as such? Certainly Lollards (and their opponents) saw themselves as in some sense *separate* from the institutional church, and superior to it. To McFarlane, Lollardy was generally a movement for reform from within, like early Methodism; Hudson counsels a suspension of judgement on the related question whether vernacular Bibles and sermon-cycles were ultimately intended for 'conventicles' or for institutional church services. Lollards do not appear to have been much interested in producing their own music for worship, nor in communal prayer.¹⁰⁸ On the other hand, there is evidence that Lollard communities celebrated the Eucharist, and in some cases would not attend mass. Those who did attend mass sometimes admitted to taking the bread out of fear, while others explained that they were thinking of God rather than the host when they communed.¹⁰⁹

Nor is the issue resolved with reference to the frequent Lollard practices of Bible-reading and sermons. Some Lollards in south-western Scotland took part in secret Bible readings in forests, cellars, and private houses. These were typically Lollard activities, but whether those involved viewed them as auxiliary sessions, anticipating later church-within-a-church phenomena like the *Christlichen Gemeinschaften* of Bucer's Strasbourg, or rather as separate (true) churches, is open to question. Meetings might be held in public where local authorities were sympathetic, but were more often

¹⁰⁷ Hudson, *Premature Reformation*, pp. 168-73; Thomson, *Later Lollards*, pp. 239-40.

¹⁰⁸ McFarlane, *Wycliffe*, p. 162 (separation and analogy to Methodism); Hudson, *Premature Reformation*, pp. 168-71 (separation), 195-200 (worship forms, Bibles in church services).

¹⁰⁹ Thomson, *Later Lollards*, pp. 246-7; Hudson, *Premature Reformation*, pp. 149-51.

held in secret in private homes.¹¹⁰ Literacy was important, and to the south a number of Lollards were able to read.¹¹¹ Grant argues that 'the relatively slow spread of lay literacy' in Scotland might have limited the influence of Lollardy, though strictly speaking only one member of the group need have been able to read.¹¹²

Such meetings for vernacular Bible study in Ayrshire are attested by Alesius in the course of his debate with Johannes Cochlaeus (Dobneck). Alesius published on the continent c. 1532-3 an open letter to James V, urging him to oppose an episcopal prohibition on the reading of the vernacular Bible in Scotland.¹¹³ This was countered by Cochlaeus in another published letter to the king, and Alesius responded with a second tract, probably sometime in the following year.¹¹⁴ In his second endeavour, Alesius deals with a number of his opponent's arguments, using copious Scriptural citations. An historical precedent, however, is narrated in the penultimate paragraph of the entire work. Alesius announces, 'I should add the judgements of princes, but so that I may pass over the rest, I will recount a domestic example to you.'¹¹⁵ This example comes from the life of the king's own father, James IV, who 'approved this home study [of the Scriptures]' in the case of John Campbell, laird of Cessnock:

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 153-6.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 185-6.

¹¹² Grant, *Independence and Nationhood*, p. 115.

¹¹³ Alexander Alesius, *Alexandri Alesii Epistola contra decretum quoddam Episcoporu[m] in Scotia, quod prohibet legere noui Testamenti libros lingua vernacula* (n.p.: n.pub., [c. 1533]).

Cochlaeus's response was published in 1533.

¹¹⁴ Alexander Alesius, *Alexandri Alesii Scotti Responsio ad Cochlei Calumnias*, ([Leipzig]: n.pub., [c. 1554]). This was a later printing of an original which must have been written 1533-4, as Cochlaeus's response was published in 1534.

¹¹⁵ 'Principum addam iudicia, et ut omitta[m] reliquos, domesticum tibi exemplum recitabo': *ibid.*, sig. [D.vii.r].

His [Campbell's] house might furnish a model of Christian instruction. For he had at his home a priest, who used to read and expound the New Testament in the vernacular to him and his family; and his own character, as well as that of his family, was consistent with the Gospel. Accordingly, he helped the poor with every kindness....¹¹⁶

Campbell extended hospitality even to priests – whom he thought superstitious and hypocritical – and would engage them in ‘friendly conversation ... about Christian doctrine’. Some monks, taking umbrage at his opposition to their views, ‘delated his name to the bishop, and accused him of heresy’. While being tried, Campbell sensed the danger to himself and his wife, and appealed to James IV, who to the annoyance of the monks agreed to adjudicate. Campbell answered the charges to the king ‘somewhat bashfully’ owing to his quiet nature and fear of the monks, so James turned to the laird’s wife for a defense:

So clearly and convincingly, by quotations from Scripture, did she disprove the charges made, that the king not only acquitted Campbell, his wife, and his priest, who were all accused, but even rose and embraced the lady, greatly praised her study of Christian doctrine.... He also presented Campbell with certain villages, in order that there might be a clear manifestation of his decision and goodwill, and that his majesty might not be supposed to harbour any suspicion about Campbell’s views....¹¹⁷

The monks, on the other hand, were reprimanded by the king.

Dating this episode is difficult; the broadest range is the personal reign of James IV, 1488-1513. Calderwood said that it happened during the

¹¹⁶ For the Latin text, see *ibid.*, sig. [D.vii.r-D.viii.r]; translation from Fleming, *Reformation in Scotland*, p. 27.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 28-9. For ‘pagos’, ‘lands’ may be a better translation than Fleming’s ‘villages’.

same year as the burning of the eighty-year-old Joan Boughton in London, 1494 – an incident he probably found in Foxe.¹¹⁸ But whether Calderwood had any evidence for this date is doubtful. John Davidson mentions the Campbells of Cessnock in a 1574 poem, but his reference to the laird's having '[p]rofessed Christ's Religion plaine: | Yea eightie yeares sensyne and mare' (hence 1494 or earlier) is not necessarily tied to the Alesius story, which he relates.¹¹⁹ Davidson does not offer a forename for the laird of Cessnock, which is probably why Calderwood saw fit to specify him as 'Johne (for so sould he be named) Campbell of Cesnock'.¹²⁰ A difficulty with forenames is that John Campbell of Newmilns, eldest son of George Campbell of Cessnock, did not inherit his father's lands until the latter's death in 1513¹²¹ – thus, strictly speaking, Davidson's account would have to refer to George. But Alesius wrote his story not too long after the events took place, and at a time when John Campbell of Newmilns was still living and still in fact laird of Cessnock. This fact, combined with Calderwood's assertion that it was John, seem to indicate that the episode had to do with John of Newmilns, before he had acceded to his father's title.

¹¹⁸ Calderwood, *History*, 1.54-5; Foxe, *A&M*, 4.7. Calderwood misspells the name 'Broughton'.

¹¹⁹ Charles Rogers, *Three Scottish Reformers* (London, 1874), p. 105. *Contra* Fleming, p. 29. Davidson added the detail that James IV's pardon was granted as Campbell was being led to the scaffold along with his wife and priest; this may have come from a family tradition, but appears to contradict Alesius's report, in which Campbell is cleared in the courtroom. See Rogers, *Three Scottish Reformers*, p. 106.

¹²⁰ Calderwood, *History*, 1.54. Calderwood mentions Davidson's poem as a source. When he lists the Lollards of Kyle, Calderwood names Campbell of Cessnock 'George'; still, Fleming suggested that his later aside might have been meant to correct Knox's list: Fleming, *Reformation in Scotland*, p. 29.

¹²¹ See Paul, *Scots Peerage*, 3.438.

There are other reasons to take this account seriously. James V was less than a year old at the time of his father's death, and so would not have witnessed this event, but Alesius would surely not have simply fabricated a story which could so easily be refuted.¹²² (Cochlaeus in responding did not attempt to refute the story, which in any case he had no means of doing.) Moreover, John and his father George were among the Lollards of Kyle, a fact that has contributed to the suggestion that the two stories might be different versions of the same episode.¹²³ The similarities include the trying of the case in council (an unusual venue), the triumph of the accused during the trial, and the intervention of James IV. No other details overlap, however, and several features differ, such as the chief witness for the defense and the tone of the defense argument. It is possible that the attestations of 1504 had to do with this event, if it is different from the trial of the Lollards of Kyle.

Whether or not Alesius's story of John Campbell of Cessnock refers to the same event as Knox's Lollards of Kyle, the two reinforce each other's believability, particularly as they appear to be textually independent. Alesius did not mention any other charges against John Campbell of Cessnock, but in attempting to persuade James V to overturn the episcopal prohibition on vernacular Bibles, he was hardly likely to recite heresies connected to Bible-reading. Campbell is said to have kept a priest to read and expound to him in the vernacular, to have been good to the poor, and to have considered the monks superstitious. These all hint at Lollard belief,

¹²² It is, of course, possible that Alesius, on hearing this tale, wrongly assumed it to be true and thus sent it to the king. As he did not include it in his first tract, Alesius – a native of Edinburgh – may not have learned the story of Campbell's Bible-readings until after its publication.

¹²³ E.g. Thomson, *Later Lollards*, p. 205 n. 3; Sanderson, *Ayrshire and the Reformation*, p. 43 appears to imply that this was a single event.

and John Campbell can certainly be counted as a heretic in light of the combined evidence of the Kyle trial, the Alesius account, and the Protestantism of his descendents.

D. Conclusion

Lollardy in Scotland is difficult to describe as a whole, as the evidence for it is so fragmentary. However, in the southwest of the country, a native Lollard preacher was active in the early fifteenth century, and in the same region eight decades later, Lollards may be found who met for Bible reading, and who seem to have shared anticlerical, ecclesiological, and practical views with heretics to the south. Whether or not there is any organic connection between Folkhyrde and the later groups, the Campbells and their friends provide just such a link between Lollardy and evangelical belief in Ayrshire. The overlap of theologies was not inconsiderable, and a general notion that piety was worked out in a group of peers seems to have provided a ready audience for Luther's teaching on the inability of works to justify. The most tangible link between these movements shows a ready acceptance of solafideism by the Lollards, but maintenance of some of their own distinctive beliefs.

Chapter two: Lollards and evangelical theology

The connections between Lollardy and early evangelical theology are easily identifiable in England. This is particularly due to John Foxe's painstaking research, but also due to the fact that Lollardy was simply far more prevalent south of the border. Stories of Lollards purchasing the works of Tyndale, or coming into contact with individuals like Robert Barnes, who had studied Luther's solafideist theology, are almost completely missing for Scotland; the exception is a late account of John Andrew Duncan, a Lollard said to have known Patrick Hamilton. But the absence of documented connections between Lollardy and evangelical thought in Scotland has to be supplemented by physical evidence.

A. Wycliffite Bibles in Scotland

The Bible in English had not been printed at this early stage, and thus when it was read, it was read in manuscript, usually as samizdat. Some manuscript vernacular New Testaments survive as physical testimony to Bible-reading in Scotland in the late period of Scottish Lollardy. One such fifteenth-century Wycliffite text was owned by William Sinclair of Roslin, Knight, who held those lands after the death of his father William in 1554 until 1582.¹²⁴ Sinclair is said to have 'gathered a great many manuscripts which had been taken by the rabble out of our monasterys in the time of the

¹²⁴ Listed in the introduction to Josiah Forshall and Frederic Madden, eds, *The Holy Bible, containing the Old and New Testaments, with the Apocryphal Books, in the Earliest English Versions, Made from the Latin Vulgate by John Wycliffe and his Followers*, 4 vols (Oxford: OUP, 1850), 1.xlviii (no. 72). The dating varies; Forshall and Madden assigned it to c. 1450, while H.A. Wilson and E.S. Dewick dated it 'probably early in the 15th century, or possibly very late in the 14th': H.J. Lawlor, 'Notes on the Library of the Sinclairs of Rosslyn', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 3rd ser. 8 (1897-8), 90-120 (p. 107). The MS is located in the Bodleian Library, MS Fairfax 11 (3891); Thomas Fairfax had purchased it in Scotland around 1650: *ibid.*, p. 108.

reformation'.¹²⁵ His impressive collection of manuscripts included several versions of Bower's *Scotichronicon*, upon which he had undertaken comparative scholarship, as well as Andrew of Wyntoun's chronicle, Bede's ecclesiastical history, and a fourteenth-century Irish missal; some of these had been bequeathed him in 1565 from the library of his uncle Henry, the Bishop of Ross. Sinclair's signature appears in the Wycliffite New Testament, as well as the date 2 April 1561, but whether he acquired it at this time or inherited it is uncertain, for another signature appears in the manuscript which H.J. Lawlor, who made extensive studies of the relevant signatures, believed to belong to the elder William.¹²⁶ This leaves in question whence the manuscript came: was it acquired for private devotional use, rescued from the despoliation of an ecclesiastical edifice, or some combination of the two? If it was found by the younger William, whence had it come, and how and why had it gotten there to begin with? In any case, Thomson claims that the Sinclair foundation of the elaborate Roslin Chapel demonstrates that the family were not of Lollard sympathy, and that the manuscript must have been used for 'devotional purposes'.¹²⁷

Another surviving Wycliffite New Testament was owned by the antiquary and Lord Lyon King of Arms, Sir James Balfour of Kinnaird (c. 1598-1657).¹²⁸ It is possible, but uncertain, that he acquired it in Scotland.

B. The New Testament in Scots

B.1 Murdoch Nisbet

The most interesting physical evidence for late Lollardy in Scotland establishes beyond doubt Bible reading in the Kyle circle and its connection

¹²⁵ Richard Augustine Hay (1661-1736), quoted in *ibid.*, p. 91.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 96-114 (list of books owned), 107-8 (NT).

¹²⁷ Thomson, *Later Lollards*, p. 207 n. 2.

¹²⁸ Forshall and Madden, *Holy Bible*, 1.lix (no. 145). The MS is now in NLS, Advocates A 6.34.

to evangelicalism: a Scots version of the Wycliffite New Testament (later version), attributed to Murdoch Nisbet of Hardhill, Loudon.¹²⁹ As with other evidence for late Scottish Lollardy, here again a much later account of the events surrounding the composition of this text was written by a descendent. The Covenanter James Nisbet (d. 1728) wrote in 1718 a pamphlet about his father John, who had been executed for covenanting activity on 4 Dec. 1685.¹³⁰ Before discussing his father's life, James offered the story of his proto-Protestant forbear Murdoch. 'In the Reign of King *James* the IV. sometime before the Year 1500', James states that his ancestor was enlightened by God

for attaining to the true and saving Principles of Christian Knowledge. His Eyes were opened to see the Vanity and Evil of *Poperie*; which, through Grace, instantly inclin'd his Heart to loath it: So he deliberately resolved against it, turn'd from it; and join'd himself with these called *Lollards*, the first Name given to *British* Protestants, whom *Papists* called *Hereticks*....¹³¹

However, 'in the Reign of King *James* the V', Murdoch, fleeing persecution, went 'over Seas, and took a Copy of the New Testament in Writ'. His other activities abroad were unclear to the author of the pamphlet [hereafter the

¹²⁹ Thomas Graves Law [and Joseph Hall], eds, *The New Testament in Scots, being Purvey's Revision of Wycliffe's Version Turned into Scots by Murdoch Nisbet c. 1520* [hereafter *NTScots*], 3 vols, STS vols (Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood and Sons, 1901-5), 1 (1901), pp. xix-xxiii; on the later version see Hudson's summary of recent findings which modify Forshall and Madden's analysis, *Premature Reformation*, pp. 238-47.

¹³⁰ James Nisbet, *A True Relation of the Life and Sufferings of John Nisbet in Hardhill. His Last Testimony to the Truth, with a short Account of his last Words on the Scaffold, December 4th, 1685*, 2nd edn (Edinburgh: Robert Brown, 1719). Wodrow mentions that James owned 'an old Wickliffe's Neu Testament, which had been in the family of Hardhill since the Reformation': Robert Wodrow, *Analecta: Or Materials for a History of Remarkable Providences; Mostly Relating to Scotch Ministers and Christians*, ed Matthew Leishman, 4 vols, Maitland Club vol. 60 (Edinburgh: Maitland Club, 1842-3): 3 (1843), p. 518.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

True Relation], but he eventually returned with other exiles including Jerome Russell and an anonymous Kennedy, who would later be executed for heresy in Glasgow in 1539.¹³² Beset by the same persecution, Murdoch 'dugged and built a Vault in the Bottom of his own House, to which he retired himself, serving GOD, and reading his new Book. Thus he continued, instructing some few that had Access to him, until the Death of King *James* the V.' Murdoch eventually emerged during the more lenient regency of Marie de Guise, and took part in iconoclastic activity. His New Testament was bequeathed to his son Alexander.¹³³

The accuracy of the *True Relation* is largely indeterminable. James may have left out a generation or two in making himself the great-great grandson of Murdoch, but the manuscript itself provides evidence of Nisbet ownership from 1624, possibly even from 1596.¹³⁴ Notarial work survives from a Murdoch Nisbet active in the 1530s in Ayrshire, who, being able to read and write, would certainly have been able to produce the manuscript New Testament. This Murdoch acted as notary for the Campbells of Cessnock, Reids, and Lockharts of Bar, all known dissenters, and his residence in Hardhill, Loudon, was not far from the Campbells of Cessnock and Newmilnes.¹³⁵ Moreover, the manuscript New Testament features a mark at the bottom of some verso leaves which resembles Murdoch Nisbet's

132 Knox, *Works*, 1.63-6. Calderwood supplied 'N.', but only to indicate *non nemo*.

133 Nisbet, *True Relation*, p. 3.

134 NTScots 1.viii-ix.

135 For examples of his work, see John Anderson, ed., *Calendar of the Laing Charters A.D. 854-1837* (Edinburgh: James Thin, 1899), p. 102 (no. 390, dated 16 June 1533); George S. Pryde, ed., *Ayr Burgh Accounts 1534-1624*, SHS 3rd ser. vol. 28 (Edinburgh: SHS, 1937), p. 74, from 1535-6 ('for services to the town, 14s'); NAS: GD 163 (Portland Muniments) 10/2, sasine for John Lockhart of Bar by Nisbet, 6 Nov. 1531. I am grateful to Dr Margaret Sanderson for providing the last reference. Murdoch's residence in Hardhill is recorded in the memoir, and his descendents lived there as well.

notarial sign manual – which was a sign unique to each notary public.¹³⁶

This provides significant external support for James's story.

As a notary public by apostolic as well as imperial authority in the diocese of Glasgow, Murdoch had at some point to have been examined by a diocesan official invested with the power to create notaries public. The supplicant for this office was expected to have the 'moral attributes necessary as well as an adequate standard of education in Latinity, penmanship and the law', and had to take an oath, 'if an apostolic notary, to be loyal to St Peter, the Church and the pope' as well as for the ethical discharge of duty.¹³⁷ In the formula of producing documents, moreover, Nisbet had to refer to the papal year of the 'most holy' pope 'by divine providence'.¹³⁸ This might have been problematic for one given to Lollard views of the papacy, but Nisbet could either have disregarded the vows in typically Lollard fashion, or taken the oath before he adopted his dissenting views – as was the case with Scotland's most notorious notary, John Knox. It is also worth noting that Nisbet's role as a notary excluded him from a monastic life, but not from marriage.¹³⁹

Internally, the *True Relation* presents some difficulties. If it is correct in its dates, Murdoch was old enough in 1500 to adopt dissenting belief, but survived until the regency of Marie (1554-60); that he should live so long is believable, but one wonders how much damage an eighty-year-old

¹³⁶ BM MS Edgerton 2880. Examples of this mark may be found at fols 24v, 36v, 107v, 131v, 155v, 191v, 215v, 227v. The foliation I am using is that most recently added to the MS; to arrive at the folio reference in *NTScots*, subtract three from the MS folio number. On the sign manual, see John Durkan, 'The early Scottish Notary', in *The Renaissance and Reformation in Scotland: Essays in honour of Gordon Donaldson*, eds Ian B. Cowan and Duncan Shaw (Edinburgh: SAP, 1983), pp. 22-40 (pp. 27-8).

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 30-31.

¹³⁸ NAS: GD 163, 10/2.

¹³⁹ Durkan, 'Scottish Notary', p. 34.

iconoclast could inflict. Another difficulty in the account is the dating of Nisbet's flight and return. Religious persecution under James V is known to have taken place from 1525, with some intensification in the mid- to late 1530s, but from 1494-1525 no evidence of such activity survives. Sometime during 1524-31 there were episcopal complaints against Bible reading in the diocese of Glasgow.¹⁴⁰ Friar Jerome Russell was apprehended by 7 Nov. 1538, and he and Kennedy were burned sometime after 1 Mar. 1538/9, which offers a firm *terminus ad quem* for the return according to James's account.¹⁴¹ While a complete search for Nisbet's notarial remains has not been undertaken, the instruments of which I am aware are all from 1531-6, which would not contradict a late flight in 1536-7, when there was persecution, and a return not long after. On the other hand, it might be that the flight and return both took place before Murdoch's notarial work. The absence of supportive evidence leaves little room for evaluation of the detail at this point. However, either dating of the flight creates problems for the dating of the textual transmission.

According to James's account, Murdoch copied his New Testament while 'over Seas'. But if his flight was not until the early 1530s – let alone the late 1530s – it is hardly conceivable that he should have bothered to copy by hand a Wycliffite version, given that printed New Testaments and Bibles were well-distributed by this time. Hence the *True Relation* suggests an earlier exile, though the the absence of known persecution remains troublesome. Following this account, a number of historians have attempted to date the exile with particular regard to the composition of the New Testament text, with varying results, though generally placing the exile in

¹⁴⁰ *St And. For.*, 1.192 (no. 185).

¹⁴¹ Knox, *Works*, 1.63 and notes 6, 8.

the 1520s.¹⁴² One of the reasons for this dating is that the manuscript includes the later insertions of a 'Prologe to the New Testament' and Preface to Romans, both with their initial provenance in Luther. The former has been taken to be a translation from German by Nisbet, and the latter an adaption of Tyndale's translation of Luther, which would suggest that the composition of the biblical text was pre-1522 (before Luther's *editio princeps* of the New Testament, which Nisbet presumably would have used instead of a Wycliffite version had he been able), with less certainty on the additions.

While some of these accounts of Nisbet display careful reasoning, none has accurately placed the additions to the text, which affects their usefulness. These additions, along with the 'Summe' of the books of the New Testament (NT), some 203 notes or glosses, numerous marginal references, and liturgical reading markers, all come from a much later source: the New Testament of Miles Coverdale, printed sometime between 13 August 1537 and May 1538 in Southwark by James Nicolson. The publication history of Coverdale's little-known editions of the NT is complex, but reveals a great deal about the editor and his theological tendencies. The Coverdale NTs are discussed in Appendix 1.¹⁴³

Examination of the manuscript demonstrates that these aids and a few textual corrections were added later to the Wycliffite NT text, as the

¹⁴² Some of these discussions: W. I. P. Hazlett, 'Nisbet, Murdoch', *DSCHT*, p. 629; Law's introduction to *NTScots*, 1.xiv-xvi; Sanderson, *Ayrshire*, pp. 42-3; Graham Tulloch, *A History of the Scots Bible* (Aberdeen: AUP, 1989), p. 4; Paul Wiechert, 'Über die Sprache der einzigen schottischen Bibelübersetzung von Murdoch Nisbet' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Albertus University, Königsberg, 1908), pp. 10-11; Wright, 'Commoun Buke', p. 156. Lindsay's article in the first volume of *SHR* was published before volume 3 of *NTScots* had appeared, and has more to do with medieval vernacular Bibles than with Nisbet or his NT: Thomas M.

Lindsay, 'A Literary Relic of Scottish Lollardy', *SHR* 1 (1904): 260-73.

¹⁴³ Hereafter the specific edition used by Nisbet will be referenced as CNT.

handwriting differs (though both are possibly the work of the same copyist). The handwriting for the NT and the liturgical Old Testament epistles (a standard feature at the end of Lollard NTs) is generally neater, and the mark that resembles Murdoch's sign manual does not appear in any of the additional material, which may suggest two copyists working at different times.

This does not, however, solve the difficulties in the Covenanter's story of his ancestor. It does indicate that the textual additions were made after 1538, which means that the publication of Luther's NT, formerly thought to be the source of the Prologue, is not useful for dating the NT text. In fact, in light of the uncertainties in the *True Relation*, it is difficult to assign a date to the NT text more specific than late fifteenth to early sixteenth century. If James Nisbet's story is inaccurate or unclear on finer points, its general veracity is probably reliable, given the undoubted ownership of the text by the Nisbet family, the association of the notary Murdoch with the Bible-reading Campbells, his scribal abilities, and the similarity of the mark in the NT text to his notarial mark. Whether Murdoch added the textual aids after 1538 is impossible to say; the handwriting differs, but on the other hand there is at the bottom of the penultimate bound leaf (part of the 'Summe'), upside down, the name 'Hew Campbell of lowdoun', with another mark to the left.¹⁴⁴ Campbell was certainly known to Nisbet; is it possible that this was an old notarial minute-sheet being re-used? In light of the positive evidence and the absence of other candidates, the copyist of both the NT text and the additions will be here taken to be Murdoch Nisbet, though this assumption remains at best provisional for the additional material.

B.2 Nisbet's NT text

¹⁴⁴ BM MS Eg. 2880, fol. 253v; *NTScots* 3.355 n.

Nisbet copied the NT text itself with enough leisure to render the English into Scots, to draw fairly elaborate initial letters to each chapter in three different colours, and to produce running book titles atop the verso pages and running chapter numbers atop the rectos, features which the manuscript shares with other Wycliffite Bibles.¹⁴⁵ However, the copying seems to have ended rather abruptly, as the OT epistles cut off at the bottom of a recto side, partway through the reading for the second Saturday of Lent (Gen. 27.6-39).¹⁴⁶ There is no internal evidence for when the copy was made, though some scholars assume that it preceded the dissemination of the early printings of Tyndale's 1526 NT, which is known to have been brought to Edinburgh and St Andrews by Scottish merchants within a year of its printing.¹⁴⁷ This dating is not improbable, but neither is it conclusive.

Particularly remarkable about the text is the transmission from late-fourteenth or early-fifteenth century English into Scots, and it is this feature which has received most of the scholarly attention to the text. Graham Tulloch claims that 'the distinctively Scots element in Nisbet's vocabulary is relatively small', for there are a number of changes he does not make – nor needed to make, since the words were common to English and Scots at the time.¹⁴⁸ Intriguing in this regard is an editorial remark in the 1530 edition of the trials of the Lollards Thorpe and Oldcastle, possibly by Tyndale:

¹⁴⁵ Cf. Hudson, *Premature Reformation*, pp. 197-9 on Wycliffite Bible layout, and its potential connection to church use.

¹⁴⁶ BM MS Eg. 2880, fol. 234r; *NTScots* 3.314. On the verso are the signatures of Nisbet owners of the MS.

¹⁴⁷ Alfred W. Pollard, ed., *Records of the English Bible: The documents relating to the translation and publication of the Bible in English, 1525-1611* (London: OUP, 1911), p. 148 (no. 16E).

¹⁴⁸ Tulloch, *Scots Bible*, p. 8; cf. Wright, 'Commoun Buke', p. 156.

This J haue corrected and put forth in the english that now is vsed in Engla[n]de /
 for ower sothern men / nothyng therto addyng ne yet therfrom mynysshynge.
 And J entende hereafter with the helpe of God to put it forthe in his owne olde
 english / which shal well serue / J doute not / bothe for the northern men a[n]d the
 faythfull brothern of scotla[n]de.¹⁴⁹

In Tyndale's mind, the English of Thorpe and Oldcastle was evidently more similar to the Scots and northern English of his day than his own 'sothern' dialect.¹⁵⁰ Ninian Winzet's famous statement to Knox reinforces the difference:

Gif ze, throw curiositie of nouationis, hes forzet our auld plane Scottish quhilk zour
 mother lerit zou, in tymes cuming I sall wryte to zou my mind in Latin, for I am
 nocht acquyntit with zour Southeroun.¹⁵¹

Whether or not the distinction between Scots and early-modern southern English obtains this fully, the similarity between Scots and older English is supported by the fact that Nisbet did not see fit to change every word of Wycliffite English into Scots. Spellings are scotticized consistently, and some words are regularly changed, such as 'gang' for 'walk', 'called' for 'clepid', or 'leirit' for 'lernyde'.¹⁵²

¹⁴⁹ *Examinacion of Master William Thorpe*, fol. A.ii.v. Of particular interest is Tyndale's statement that he was aware of 'faythfull brothern' north of the border as early as 1530.

¹⁵⁰ Is it possible that Nisbet could have found it easier to copy from the Wycliffite text than from Tyndale? This is probably negated by the ease with which the Coverdale additions were changed into Scots.

¹⁵¹ Ninian Winzet, *Certain tractates: Together with the book of four score three questions and a Translation of Vincentius Lirinensis*, 2 vols, ed James King Hewison, STS vol. 15 (Edinburgh: STS, 1888-90): 1.138.

¹⁵² For general discussions of the literary changes, see T.M.A. Macnab, 'The New Testament in Scots', *RSCHS* 11 (1951): 82-103 (pp. 85-88); *NTScots* 1.xix-xxiii; Tulloch, *Scots Bible*, p. 8; Wright, 'Commoun Buke', pp. 156-60.

If, as the *True Relation* claims, the copy was made abroad, it would appear that Nisbet intended to return to his homeland, for he probably scotitized the English with a view to ease of group reading. It must be assumed that Nisbet did not himself possess a Wycliffite NT, but copied from one owned by someone else. The communal aim of the linguistic change, coupled with the use of a translation which was outlawed in England, suggests that Nisbet was not an otherwise orthodox layman interested in the content of the NT, but a practising Lollard. It is technically true that the Wycliffite NT was orthodox in its translation of *poenitentiam agere* ('do penance') and *sacramentum* ('sacrament'), but the claim that 'there was no schismatic intent' in the copying makes far too much of this.¹⁵³ How, without Greek, was the fourteenth-century translator to know better? Moreover, unauthorized translation, no matter how it translated these words, had been declared heretical in England since 1408.¹⁵⁴

Following the issue of the scotitization of the NT text is the natural question why Nisbet (or another copyist) bothered to copy and scotitize (in the same broad fashion as the NT text) the extensive material lifted from Coverdale's 1537-8 NT. The textual aids include a prologue, the lengthy Romans preface, chapter-by-chapter summaries for almost every book in the NT, the notes or glosses, numerous marginal references, and markers for liturgical reading. Certainly by 1538 a number of printed NTs and Bibles were available, though the extent of their dissemination in Scotland cannot be gauged. One possibility is that the textual aids were appended and scotitized for the purposes of group reading. This would imply that Bible-

¹⁵³ Macnab, 'New Testament in Scots', p. 103. Law is slightly more temperate in making the same point: *NTScots* 1.xxx-xxxv; Durkan hints at the same assumption: Durkan, review of Sanderson, p. 90.

¹⁵⁴ Pollard, *Records*, pp. 79-81 (no. 1).

readings were still taking place in 1538, and that the Wycliffite NT was still being used at this late date. This would also seem to imply that Nisbet did not own the Coverdale NT from which he copied; had he owned it, he could easily enough have read Scots aloud from the English text.

In addition to scoticizing the added material, Nisbet changed some nine instances of the word 'sacrament' to 'sacrait', following Coverdale's 'mystery' or 'secrete'.¹⁵⁵ Similarly the phrase 'bot deliuer vs fra ewill' was added to the version of the Lord's Prayer in Lk. 11.4, which was absent from the Vulgate and its Wycliffite translations, but present in the Greek of Erasmus's *Novum Instrumentum* and the Protestant versions which relied on it.¹⁵⁶ The change to 'sacrait' was grounded in better scholarship: the Greek *musterion* had generally been translated by Erasmus 'mysterium' or 'arcanum'.¹⁵⁷ It was also theologically charged; among other things, it took away a biblical argument for the sacramental nature of marriage (Eph. 5.32). This was a start towards protestantizing the *NTScots*, but the Wycliffite text still followed the Vulgate in other respects which had been abandoned by Protestant versions, notably in the translation of *paenitentiam agite* and its cognates as 'do penance'.¹⁵⁸ Tyndale had translated this 'repent', following

¹⁵⁵ Eph. 1.9 (2x, though the second instance was based on a mistranslated pronomial referent in the Wycliffite original – see *NTScots* 2.228 n. 9), 3.3, 3.9, 5.32; Col. 1.27; 1 Tim. 3.16; Rev. 1.20, 17.7. Book, chapter, and verse reference to biblical texts will replace page or folio reference in these instances; it should be noted that the order of books in the *NTScots* is not standard.

¹⁵⁶ *Novum instrumentu[m] omne, diligenter ab ERASMO ROTERODAMO recognitum & emendatum...* [hereafter *Novum Instrumentum*], 1st edn (Basle: Johannes Froben, 1516).

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, at the references cited, and comments in the annotation section, pp. 523, 533 (on marriage). Interestingly, Erasmus translates *musterion* as 'sacramentum' in Rev. 1.20 and 17.7 (though changing the latter in the third edition to 'mysterium').

¹⁵⁸ Macnab discusses the translation of *paenitentiam* and other words later changed by Tyndale: Macnab, 'New Testament in Scots', pp. 88-100.

Erasmus's annotation that the Greek *metanoieite* 'could properly be translated *Resipiscite*, or *ad mentem redite*' (e.g. Mt. 3.2, 4.17).¹⁵⁹ Theologically, this undermined the sacrament of penance. Coverdale, whose text Nisbet used for revision, had however left in some ten instances of '(do) penance'.¹⁶⁰ He discussed this usage in his 'prologe ... Unto the Christen reader' in the 1535 Bible. He wanted 'the aduersaries of the trueth' to know that 'we abhorre not this worde penaunce ... no more then the interpreters of latyn abhorre penitere, whan they reade resipiscere'. The meaning of 'penance', however, was clearly qualified: 'a very repe[n]taunce, ame[n]dment, or conuersyon vnto God'.¹⁶¹ Nisbet did not, however, make any changes to the instances of 'do penance' in the *NTScots*.

Had Nisbet wished further to modernize and protestantize his translation, more of such changes to the text (following Coverdale) would have been necessary.¹⁶² But he had begun to make these changes, which presents another possible explanation for the additional material: perhaps

¹⁵⁹ 'Meo iudicio commode uerti poterat, Resipiscite, siue ad mentem redite': *Novum Instrumentum*, p. 241. The texts had the impersonal 'poeniteat vos'. In the third edition, Mt. 3.2 was 'Poenite[n]tia[m] agite uitae prioris' and Mt. 4.17 'Resipiscite': *Novum testamentum omne, tertio iam ac diligentius ab ERASMO ROTERDAMO recognitum ...*, 3rd edn ([Basel]: [Johannes Froben], 1522), as cited.

¹⁶⁰ See Greenslade's introduction to the reprint of the first Coverdale Bible, *BIBLIA The Bible / that is, the holy Scripture of the Olde and New Testament, faithfully and truly translated out of Douche and Latyn in to Englishe*, trans. Miles Coverdale ([Cologne?]: [Cervicorn and Soter?], 1535); repr. *The Coverdale Bible 1535* [hereafter *CB 1535*], intro. S.L. Greenslade (Folkestone: Dawson, 1975), pp. 15-16. See also J.F. Mozley, *Coverdale and his Bibles* (London: Lutterworth, 1953), pp. 105-6. There are considerable difficulties in the publication history of the Coverdale Bible, which are addressed by Greenslade and Mozley.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 105, or Greenslade, *CB 1535*, p. 42.

¹⁶² Coverdale followed Tyndale in using several other words which were criticized by conservative readers, e.g. Robert Ridley and Thomas More: see, respectively, Pollard, *Records*, pp. 122-6 (no. 13), 126-31 (no. 14).

the copyist had in mind a printed version of the *NTScots*. If so, further revision of the NT text might have been envisaged. Aside from a few mistakes, the prefaces and notes are generally scoticized word-for-word (important exceptions will be noted below). Such precision might have been used for group reading, but planned publication might be a more plausible explanation. Were this the case, it is possible that Nisbet or someone in his circle actually owned a Coverdale NT, and that the manuscript was brought out to save time in the scoticization. Domestic printing was probably not possible, for although the vernacular Bible was legalized in Scotland in 1543, printers were in short supply. If Nisbet had a view to publication in England, the moment was ripe in 1537-8, when Cromwell obtained royal license for a number of printed Bibles and NTs, including the Coverdale NT. Legislation later in the year demanded that prefaces and notes be first approved, and Henry could not be persuaded to allow Coverdale's planned annotations of the Great Bible (1539; hereafter GB) to be printed; hence after 1538 the prospects of publishing a NT in England with clearly Protestant prefaces and notes were unpromising.¹⁶³ The continent remained a possibility; perhaps in Antwerp, 'the powerhouse of English biblical translation', where Joannes Hoochstraten, who had printed Scottish evangelical works in 1533 and 1535 in Malmö, was working from 1535-43.¹⁶⁴

¹⁶³ Pollard, *Records*, 240 (no. 37) (16 Nov. 1538 royal proclamation), 245 (no. 38B) (Coverdale's appeal to Cromwell regarding annotation); Prologue to GB, *The Byble in Englyshe, that is to saye the content of all the holy scripture, bothe of y[e] olde and newe testament, truly translated after the veryte of the Hebrue and Greke textes, by y[e] dylygent studye of dyuerse excellent learned men, expert in the forsayde tonges* [GB], 1st edn [STC 2068] (London: Grafton and Whitchurch, 1539), fol. *.v.verso.

¹⁶⁴ Greenslade, *CB* 1535, p. 9 (quotation); for Hoochstraten's Scottish works STC 14667, 19525 (which are discussed in ch. 3), and 3.85.

In the absence of further evidence one way or the other, any assumptions about the additions to the *NTScots* must be general. It is at least safe to say that the textual aids were not simply for the use of the copyist; these were meant for the instruction and edification of other Scots. But the significance of these additions has not fully been recognized by historians.

Since its rediscovery in the late nineteenth century by Lord Amherst of Hackney, and its publication from 1901-5, the existence of the *NTScots* has been well-known. The Scottish Text Society's editor was Thomas Graves Law, an established scholar of Scottish church history as well as the Vulgate, whose scholarly notes focused primarily on comparison to editions of the Latin text.¹⁶⁵ Sadly, Law died after the completion of the first volume, leaving the work to Joseph Hall, a talented paleographer who completed the final two volumes in accordance with Law's editorial policy. In comparing the Prologue [spelling to distinguish this from other book prologues] and Romans Preface to contemporary English New Testaments, Hall came into contact with three printings of the Coverdale edition, and though he knew of the direct dependence in the Romans Preface, he did not draw attention to this correspondence or that of the other textual aids.¹⁶⁶ Subsequent scholarship on the Nisbet New Testament has dealt primarily with the language used, but sparingly with the Prologue and Romans Preface. More surprisingly, there has been virtually no reference to the notes, although

¹⁶⁵ For the editorial method, *NTScots* 1.xxix-xxx. In 1877, before leaving the Roman Catholic faith, Law wrote an essay entitled 'The Latin Vulgate as the Authentic Version of the Church': P. Hume Brown, ed, *Collected Essays and Reviews of Thomas Graves Law, LL.D.* (Edinburgh: EUP, 1904), pp. 53-97.

¹⁶⁶ Hall's edited Romans Preface includes an unnamed source 'N., the book from which the transcript was copied', which was a Nicolson edition of the Coverdale New Testament – though he does not seem to have identified it: *NTScots* 3.314 note b.

these are printed in the STS edition. This is perhaps partly due to Law's failure to mention the notes in his introduction.

Nevertheless, it is the additional material, both prefaces and annotation, which exhibits a physical link between Lollardy and evangelicalism in Ayrshire. It is not surprising that the way in which Murdoch Nisbet had access to a CNT is unclear, as it may well have been illegal. Whether he borrowed or owned a copy is likewise unclear, but when he had the chance, he made extensive use of the volume.

Nisbet's transcript of the CNT material into his NT was usually word-for-word, with regular spelling adjustments and occasional changes of vocabulary into Scots. Also interesting is the fact that he bothered to copy the liturgical reading markers and the Summes, perhaps an indication that printing was indeed in his mind. In any case, this apparatus is one of the most sizable renderings of evangelical theology in Scots in the first half of the sixteenth century, and its content surely had an impact upon some of the dissent-inclined residents of Ayrshire.

B.3 The Prologe

The Prologe, as mentioned, comes mostly from Luther's prologue, and although some of the material could be assented to by most Protestants and many advocates of reform from within, there is an indelible Lutheran stamp of the law/gospel dialectic on the document. The gospel, according to the Prologe, is such good news 'as makis a man to syng, to be glaid, and his hart to leape for joy', namely, that Christ has 'deliuerit, iustifiit and savit thaim that beleve in Him w[ithout] ony of thaire desruyng. Not onelie this bot he has made ag[rem]ent for thame with God, and brocht thame vnto his favour ag[ain]'. The word 'testament', the Prologe continues, is added

because it is Christ's testament or will to leave his life, righteousness, and salvation to his followers (*NTScots* 1.2).¹⁶⁷

The Prologue notes that Christ is the promised seed of Eve and of Abraham (Gen. 3.15, 22.18) to free humans from 'the curss that fell vponn Adam a[nd his chi]ld[ir]' – i.e. original sin. Humanity is opposed, in characteristically Lutheran terminology, by 'syn, deith and hell'. Against these the kingdom of Christ was promised to David and the prophets, 'a kingdome of lyfe, of saluacion and of righteousnesse'.¹⁶⁸ This kingdom is variously presented in the NT as 'a schort or lang oratioun of Christ', the shorter in the epistles, the longer in the gospels (1.3).

After this fairly uncontroversial opening, the Prologue takes a more Lutheran turn: 'Take thow gude heid tharefor that thow make not of Christ Moses, nothir of the Gospell the law'. The gospel requires good works only if 'we are sauit all redy'; it is Christ's work which brings us salvation. It is in this way that the commandments of Christ and the apostles should be read.

It is not enough to know the 'workis and actis' of Christ or the 'doctrines and commaundementes'; one must hear the voice 'that sayeth, Christ is thyn owne, both body, doctrine, workes[,] death, resurreccyon, and all that he is, hath, doth, or is able to do'.¹⁶⁹ This voice of Christ comes 'with lufe and kyndnes', not 'violens nor comp[ulsioun]'; hence the 'Go[spell] is na law buke, bot a veray preching of the benefites of C[hrist]'. This stands in contrast to the writings of the law by Moses, who 'dryvis, compellis,

¹⁶⁷ To avoid redundant references to the Prologue and Romans Preface, these will be offered in the text at the end of the section relevant to the page number cited.

¹⁶⁸ Hall, the transcriber of *NTScots*, filled in many lacunae in the MS. Generally, these are accurate, but in some cases Hall may be corrected by the Nicolson CNT used by Nisbet (STC 2838; hereafter *CNT*). This is the case with the present quotation (fol. A.[ii].verso), and will be noted where it occurs.

¹⁶⁹ The second and third quotations supplied from *CNT*, fol. A.iii.recto.

threatnis, [bet]tis and punnyssis sore'. To the believer, 'thar is na [law] gevin vnto him'. Here the Prologue presents its most distinctively Lutheran teaching, as it presents a deep divide between law and gospel, the former of which the believer leaves behind.

The Prologue then offers Luther's typical response to the charge of antinomianism. One having 'trew faith ... brekis oute be gude wor[kis], knowleging and teching this Gospell vnto vthir menn, and jeo[pardis] his life for the same' (1.4). All things are done with a view to the good of his neighbour, both with regard to his salvation and his material well-being – thus following 'the ensample of Christ' (1.4-5). Hence Christ's only commandment before the ascension was love. If an individual does not love and do good works, 'thare is doutles na rycht faith, thare has the [gos]pell takin na sure hald and thare is nocht Christ yit trew[lie] [knownen]'.¹⁷⁰

This was the end of Coverdale's translation of Luther; he then added a modified version of the exhortations at the end of the 1535 Bible preface. Coverdale challenges the readers of the Prologue to approach the NT in the way prescribed, and offers them a hermeneutical hint:

For this is evin the [ver]ray work of God that quha saeuire dois sa rede or heir
Goddis [wor]ld that the hale lust and desyre of his hert is to leve thareftir, [the] same
vndirstandis quhat is red, and is na vayne herar (1.5).

Here Coverdale offers encouragement to lay readers, for even though they may not have expertise in the interpretation of the Bible, they can have confidence that God himself will guide their faithful reading.¹⁷¹ Readers

¹⁷⁰ Final word added from *CNT*, fol. A. [iv].recto.

¹⁷¹ Cf. Coverdale's hermeneutical advice in the 1535 preface, which survives only in the Nicolson reprint. Readers are to 'marke ... of whom, & vnto whom, with what wordes, at what tyme [,] where, to what intent, with what circumstaunce, consydeyinge what goeth before, and what foloweth after'. Some passages describe actions to be emulated, others to be eschewed. When dark passages are encountered, the reader should commit them 'vnto

should seek to live in accordance with Scripture 'euery man as God has callit him', which introduces a division of vocations similar to those found in Luther's writings, possibly guided by Tyndale's prefatory scriptural quotations in the 'GH' edition (1535) headed 'The office of all estates'.¹⁷² The first exhortation is addressed to a 'prince, lord, juge or heid of the pepill', who should 'knew na person [in] iugement', keep close to the Scriptures, and order himself according to Dt. 17.¹⁷³ Secondly, bishops and priests (Coverdale's terms) are exhorted to fulfil their roles as spiritual shepherds as delineated in 1 Tim., Titus, and 1 Pt. 5. This is not spelled out, but it may be understood as a criticism of the worldly episcopacy. Third, a catch-all group, 'quha saeuir thow be, man, wif, serwand or child', is exhorted to 'be diligent in the estait that God has callid the vnto, nocht [fol]owing thin awin inuentiounn but ordiring thi self eftir the command[me]nt and word of God'.¹⁷⁴ All three sections are followed by a form of the refrain 'thow art blissit and partakare of [al] the promisis that evir God made vnto thame that fere him' (1.5).

The results of this reading of and obedience to God's word are spelled out in the final paragraph:

God or to the gyfte of his holy sprete in them y[at] are better lerned then thou': *CB 1535*, p. 39.

¹⁷² Tyndale had simply quoted verses having to do with bishops (1 Tim. 3.2-4), rulers (Sap. 1.1, Lev. 19.15 [mis-cited in Tyndale as Lev. 9]), the 'Commens' (Lev. 19.13, 35-6), husbands and wives (Eph. 5.25-9 and 22-4, respectively): reproduced in Francis A. Fry, *A Description of the Editions of the New Testament: William Tyndale's Version in English* (London: Henry Sotheran, 1878), plate 5.

¹⁷³ Hall mis-copied 'heid' as 'herd', corrected from BM MS Eg. 2880, fol. 6r. Cf. the phrase to that in *CB 1535*, 'lest thou be a knower of personnes in iudgme[n]t': unfoliated preliminary leaf recto prior to fol. 1.

¹⁷⁴ '[fol]owing' is corrected from Hall's '[tr]owing' from *CNT*, fol. A.[iv].verso.

then maye we be sure y[a]t his blessynge shall lyghte vpon vs, then shall the trueth prospere and go forth amonge vs: the[n] shal God be truly serued and honoured, then shal our prynce be obeyed, then shall no sedicyon preuayle, then shall Gods worde be truly preached, then shall the poore be well prouyded for. Su[m]ma, then shall euen they that now are agaynst the trueth, haue occasyon to loue it, to be conuerted vnto it, to folowe it, and to receaue it....¹⁷⁵

Here were promises that appealed to all walks of life and contradicted the perception that Bible-reading resulted in sedition. In this vision of a scripturally obedient society, both extremes function properly, the poor being provided for and the sovereign obeyed. The emphasis on true preaching shows Coverdale's fervour for a reformation of doctrine; his confidence that 'euen they that now are agaynst the trueth' will be converted by such preaching exhibits the eirenicism of that fervour.

The reader of the Prologue was given Lutheran keys to unlock the gospel. The law/gospel dialectic is briefly stated, and it implies the hermeneutical importance of justification by faith. But the Prologue is not so much a hermeneutical document as an exhortation to the reader to listen for the voice of Christ in the gospel, and to respond with love toward God and neighbour. The wording is simple, and contemporary controversies regarding law and gospel are not mentioned. There is no reason to believe that the contents of the Prologue would have given offence to a Lollard believer like Nisbet.

B.4 The Romans Preface

The Romans Preface as found in Coverdale was based ultimately on that by Luther, which appeared in German in his NTs. Tyndale had

¹⁷⁵ This section is damaged in *NTScots*, and so I have supplied the entire passage from *CNT*, fol. A.[iv].verso. The material which survives in *NTScots* makes it clear that Nisbet was following Coverdale here.

published this as a separate tract in 1526, revised it slightly for NTs of 1534, and again for the 'GH' edition of 1535.¹⁷⁶ Luther is immediately apparent in the claim that 'this epistill is the maist principall ande maist excellent parte of the New Testament' and that it is 'anne lycht ande anne waye on to the hale scripture'. The believer should 'not only know it by rute ande without the buke, bot alsua excerse him selff thairin euirmair continually'. The more it is studied, the more it will benefit the reader (*NTScots* 3.315).

The stated goal of the Preface was to provide readers of Romans with a 'waye thair into' which will make it more easily understood, since it has previously been 'dirknetht with glosses'. When thus clarified, Romans will 'gif lycht vnto al the scripture'. The beginning of this way into the epistle is to understand Pauline terminology, especially 'Lawe, Synne, Grace, Faith, Rychtwisnes, Fleische, Spreite, ande sicklik' (316). The definitions of these terms provide a hermeneutical structure for the reader, and the first is especially important.

Law is not to be understood as 'mennis lawe', for unlike human statutes it is not 'fulfillit with outward werkis only'. Rather, God's law 'requiris the grownde of the hart, and luf fra the boddovmme thairof' (316). The Pharisees exemplify this difference, for although they were outwardly righteous, Christ called them hypocrites for their inner hatred of the law (316-7). Such hypocrites are accused: 'jnwardly in thi hart thou wald that

¹⁷⁶ The tract has been reprinted in facsimile: [William Tyndale], *A compendious introduccion / prologe or preface vn to the pistle off Paul to the Romayns* ([Worms]: [Peter Schoeffer, 1526]); facs. vol. 767 of *The English Experience* (Amsterdam and Norwood, NJ: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum and Walter J. Johnson, 1975). The 1534 revision may be found in *Tyndale's New Testament, Translated from the Greek by William Tyndale in 1534*, ed David Daniell (New Haven: YUP, 1989), pp. 207-24. The revisions consist chiefly in two lengthy additions, the first of which (at *NTScots* 3.321 ll. 6-22) was added only in the GH edn of 1535, the latter of which (at *NTScots* 3.322 l.26-324 l. 18) was added from 1534 on.

thair war na law, na, nor yit Gode'. God's law is spiritual, for it requires 'vnfenyeit luf and affectionn' (318). What brings about this spiritual response to the law is the presence of the Holy Spirit. Thus doing the deeds of the law and fulfilling it are different things. Those who deny this and 'teachis that a man may ande mvst prepaire him self to grace and to the fauoure of Gode be gude werkes' are 'sophisteres' and 'deceavers' (319).

The Holy Spirit, necessary for fulfilling the law, comes 'be faith anly' in God's promises in Christ, 'as we beleif the glaide tydingis preached to us'. The Spirit looses us from the bonds of the Devil as regards obedience (320). Faith, in turn, comes from hearing the good news – '[a]l our justifying than cummyis be faith, ande faith and the spreit cummis of Gode, ande not of us'. Tyndale in his final revision clarified the way in which faith brings the Spirit. Lest anyone should think that faith *deserves* the spirit, he notes that the Spirit is in us before faith, and 'faith is the gift ande wirkyng of the spreit'. In the preaching of the law, the Spirit drives us to the fear of God, and in the preaching of the Gospel to faith. Faith thus 'certifyis ws ... of the spreit' and brings the Spirit for other 'giftis of grace'. Thus 'faith only justified, makis rychtwiss ande fulfillis the law'; it loosens the heart 'to wirk the dedis of the law with luff' (321).

Sin is likewise not confined to 'the outwarde wark only', but includes 'proneis ande reddyng vnto the deide in the grownde of the hart'. This inward inclination to sin stems from 'the poyson jnclynatiounn ande corrupt nature, quhair in he [the sinner] was conceavit and borne'. Just as faith alone justifies and leads to good works, so unbelief is the 'rutte and originall fonntain of al syn'. Hence unbelief is itself a sin, as Christ says in the gospel of John (322). The 'first commandment' cited by Jesus (from Dt. 6.4-5) asserts that there is one God and that he is to be loved. All sins stem from a lack of love, itself based on unbelief, the former part of this commandment (323).

This leads to a hint of the trees and fruit analogy used by Luther and others (324).

Grace and gift are defined by their distinction. The former is found in Christ, the latter in the Holy Spirit (324). Gifts 'jncrese in to us dayely' though 'yit thair remaynne jn us ewil lustes ande synne'. In spite of this, grace is 'sa stark to us for Christis saik, that we ar comptit hal hail before Gode'. Gifts are given little by little, unlike grace. Believers are thus sinners and yet not reckoned as such by God – Luther's concept of the believer as *simul iustus et peccator* (325).

Faith is not simply in the mind, 'mannis opinion ande dramme' (325). By the Spirit, 'rycht faith' rather 'chengis ws, turnis us in to anne new nature, and begate us new agaynne to Gode, ande makis us the sonnes of Gode', including a renewal of the inward 'affectionns and poweris'. Because right faith is 'lywely', it cannot fail to 'wyrk all wayis gude werkis without ceassing'. Hence those who do not do good works do not have right faith (326). Faith itself is 'lyffly ande steadfast traist in the fauour of Gode', which makes believers joyful and 'reddy to do gude to euiry man' without any compulsion. An analogy explains the relationship to works: 'jt is impossibile to separate gude werkis fra faith, ewin as it is jmpossibile to separte heite and byrning fra fyr' (327). This reiterates the refutation of antinomianism in the Prologue. Right faith may be called righteousness, and is 'Goddis rychtwisnes', because it is 'Godis gyft'. This righteousness before God 'can nature, fre will, ande our awin strentht neuir brynge to pass' (327).

The word flesh does not mean corporal flesh; rather, it means the 'hail man', including his soul, who 'studyis eftir the warld ande fleische'. Moreover all spiritual belief 'without the spret of Gode' is flesh, as are good works without grace and the Spirit. At issue is renewal: those 'nocht renewit with the spret and bornne aganne in Christ' are flesh, while those who have

been renewed are 'spirituall'. The terms may also be used for their respective works: all the supposed good of the fleshly person, such as

learnynge, doctryne, contemplatiounn of hie thingis, his preachinge, teachinge,
ande study in the scripture, byldingis of kirkis, foundyng of abbayis, gyffing of
almuss, messes, matynes

are still fleshly; whereas even works which seem 'neuir sa grose' as foot-washing and 'all the dedis of matrimony' are spiritual if done by one who is spiritual (328).

The definition of these terms contains fundamental Lutheran theology, and provided a considerable hermeneutical framework for those reading the epistle for the first time in the vernacular. The Preface itself states that without the understanding of these terms neither Romans nor the Bible will be comprehensible. Those who define these words otherwise do not understand Paul – *caveat lector* (329). In order to 'prepaire' the reader for the epistle, the Preface next turns to a lengthy summary of the contents of Romans.

In summarizing the structure of the epistle, the Preface interprets Paul as a Lutheran preacher: he begins with the 'thwndyr of the law' and moves later to the 'pleasant raynne of the ewangell' (332). Chapter one sets out the important distinction of nature and grace; without the Spirit, natural humanity is corrupt (329). In the second and third chapters, outward works without inner change are condemned, so that Jews and Gentiles are alike sinners (330). The remedy is now mentioned, that one must 'be maide rychtwiss throw faith in Christ'. In the fourth chapter, Paul answers objections to this position. If 'only faith without werkis justifies', why would anyone do good works? Abraham is Paul's counter-example, who was circumcised as 'anne gude werk of obedience' after being justified by faith alone (331). No good work can be done 'quhil we ar yit in captiuite

ande bundage, vndir the dewill', hence '[n]a man can preveyne the spret in doynge gude'. This reflects Luther's understanding of the bondage of the will. The Spirit uses the law to drive sinners to seek the help of the gospel, and thus it is God who is entirely responsible for salvation (332).

In the fifth chapter, Paul commends the right sort of good works, including

peace, rejoyssing in the consciens, jnwart luf to Gode ande mann; mairour baldness, traist, confidence, and a strange [= strong] ande anne lusty mynde, ande anne steadfast faith in tribulationn ande sufferyng (333).

These 'rycht schapin werkis' will follow, but not precede, faith (334). The comparison of Adam and Christ further elaborates the point (335). Chapter six discusses spirit and flesh, and here the Preface draws upon Luther's doctrine of the Christian as *simul iustus et peccator*. 'Yis, thair is syn ramanyng in us', Paul concedes, 'bot it is nocht rekned, becauss of faith ande of the spret quhilk feightis aganiss it', a fight which will continue 'all the tymme of our lywis' (335). In the same chapter Paul states that 'we ar vndir grace, ande nocht vndir the law'. Here again the Preface denies antinomianism. Not to be under the law is

to haue anne fre hart, renewit with the spret sua that thow hes lust inwartly of thynne awin accorde to do quhat the law commandis without compulsionn, yee, thocht thair ware na law.

By the Spirit we come to love the law, 'quhilk law is na thing ellis saue the wil of Gode' (336). Freedom from the law is more precisely freedom from the 'craiffing and dette of the lawe' so that it 'accusis na maire, compellis na mair'.

Chapter seven elaborates this relationship by analogy to marriage (337). Here the Preface continues to reiterate its main themes, stating that those work 'presumptwslye' who attempt to fulfil the law with outward

works, and that they do not see the face of Moses clearly. Nor can inward desires be brought into line with the law by the individual's own initiative (338). Tyndale expands on Luther at this point to offer an anthropological reflection: 'mann is but drywin of dywerss appetites, ande the greatest appetite ouircumis the less, and charyis the man away vyolently with hir.' Thus acts which appear outwardly good can be motivated by evil (339).¹⁷⁷

Paul now 'confortis sic feighteris, that thai suld notht dispaire becauss of such flesh' in the eighth chapter. Those in Christ who fight the flesh with the Spirit are in no danger. Another Lutheran theme is introduced in this chapter, the element of the believer's own cross: 'becauss na thing is sa gude to the mortifynge of the flesche as the croce ande tribulatiounn', the Spirit brings comfort. In sum, chapters 6-8 point the reader to the 'rycht wark of faith' (340).

Chapters 9-11 concern predestination, by which 'our justifying ande saluatiounn ar cleynne takin out of our hartis ande put in the handis of Gode only'. Because of this 'haif we hope ande traist aganiss synn'. But this doctrine can also be misused, for those who wish to determine

quhiddir thai be predestynate or nocht of neidis monn cast thamme selffis in gret disperatiounn, or ellis committ them selffis till free channce, without care.

Avoiding such speculation, the believer should 'nosell [= nuzzle] thi self with Christ' and concentrate on fighting sin according to the gospel. This fight will make predestination 'waxe sweit' and 'preciouss'. Again the theology of the cross is the key. Unless a believer has 'bornne the croce of aduersite ande temptatiounn, ande hes feld thi self brocht in to the wery brymme of disperatiounn, yee, ande vnto hellis gates', he or she cannot

¹⁷⁷ On this page Nisbet omitted two sentences by mistake. The extra sentences, which should be inserted at p. 339 l. 1 and l. 32, may be found in the footnotes to the page.

understand God's righteousness in this matter (341). The doctrine is 'stark wyne' and not for infants in the faith.

In chapter 12, Paul moves from doctrine to exhortation. Christians are all 'preistis', who offer 'thair awin hartis'. The proper manner of behaviour toward others is discussed here and in chapter 13, which hints at the very Lutheran notion of two regiments (342). One should obey the 'temporall suorde' for the good of the community, although this is not necessary for justification and although believers would do good anyway (342-3). Love is the basis for all proper action towards others. Love likewise guides the action described in chapter 14, consideration for those of a weak conscience (though here, unlike elsewhere, Tyndale does not add examples). The fifteenth chapter continues this theme, offering Christ as the example for believers (343). Christ, after all, suffers the imperfections of believers daily (344).

The final chapter is one of 'recommendatiounn', including the 'monitiounn that we suld be war of the tradit[iounns] and doctryne of menn, quhilkis begylis the sempyll with sophestry ande learnyng', leading them away from the gospel to 'beggerly ceremonyes'. Those who lead them astray 'wald lyue in fatte pastures, ande be in auctorite, ande be takin as Christ, yee, ande abonne Christ'. These wish to occupy the 'consciens of menn' rather than the word of God; hence readers are enjoined to '[c]ompair ... all maner doctryne of men vnto the scriptur' (345). Although thinly-veiled, this was not an explicit attack on the old church, and it softened Luther's original, which referred directly to Rome.¹⁷⁸

¹⁷⁸ Tyndale omits 'It is as if he had certainly forseen that out of Rome and through the Romans would come the seductive and offensive canons and decretals and the whole squirming mass of human laws and commandments, which have now drowned the whole world and wiped out this epistle...': Martin Luther, *Luther's Works* [hereafter *LW*], ed Jaroslav Pelikan et al. (St Louis: Concordia, 1955-75): 35.379-80; Martin Luther, *D. Martin*

In summing up the epistle to the Romans, the Preface states that it contains all that a 'christin mann or a womman augtht to do or knaw', including standards of behaviour. Thus Paul intended to include 'all the haill lyearynyng of Christis gospel' and to offer an introduction to the OT, for the epistle contains the 'lycht ande effecte of the auld testament' (344). '[T]o preif that man is justified by faith only' is the 'summe ande haill cause' of the composition of Romans; the denial of which entails the misunderstanding of this book and all of Scripture (345). Justification is 'to be reconsaled to God, ... ande to haue thy synnes forgiffin the' because of the merits of Christ alone (345-6). This quiets the conscience, and should not offend anyone (346). Readers are finally exhorted to respond to the preaching of the epistle: to see their own condemnation in the law, to turn for mercy to Christ, and to 'lyue anne new lyffe after the will of Gode' with diligence (347).

As much of the Romans Preface was translated from Luther's German version, it contains many characteristically Lutheran ideas. In fact it contains a surprisingly wide, if cursory, introduction to Luther's teaching. This is perhaps because Luther wrote as he claimed Paul had – with a view to covering all the basics of Christian faith and practice for first-time readers of the Bible. Hence not only is justification by faith alone introduced, so is the law/gospel dialectic, original sin, the bondage of the will, the works that follow from faith, the notion of a believer as *simul iustus et peccator*, the theology of the cross, and the theory of two regiments. The Preface offers more detail on justification and the law/gospel dialectic than the other

Luthers Werke: Die Deutsche Bibel [hereafter WADB], vols 6-7 [NT], ed O. Bebermeier, Otto Albrecht, et al (Weimar: Hermann Böhlhaus Nachfolger, 1929, 1931): 7.26. The order of the final paragraphs is reversed in editions after 1539; the translation in *LW* is from the 1546 edition, but textual changes are minimal. Cf. Daniell, *Tyndale*, p. 150.

subjects, but they can all be seen to draw on these central theological tenets. The degree is probably low to which a lay reader of the Preface would have detected the finer theological points therein, but the basics of salvation as Luther saw them were clear, and were set forth in such a way that those moving from the Preface to the epistle itself would likely find a resonance between the doctrine in the two.¹⁷⁹ Although it was without question a Protestant document – and polemical, as it occasionally counters an opposing view – Tyndale’s version of the Preface attacked the old church only by implication, removing the specificity from the only controversial moment in Luther’s Romans Preface.

The interplay of law and gospel in the Romans Preface has been debated for some time, as has its significance for Tyndale’s understanding of covenants. Tyndale’s revisions, it has been argued, reveal his increasing sympathy with Reformed theology, and place greater stress on the role of the law in Christian life than did Luther’s original. If this is the case, it is conceivable that the Nisbet circle could have been subtly steered toward Reformed theology by this document. The debate concerning Tyndale’s revisions of the Romans Preface is discussed in Appendix 2, ‘Law and Gospel in the Romans Preface’. Likewise, scholars have suggested that Tyndale’s revisions to the Romans Preface reveal his shift toward covenant theology; again, the possibility exists that this might have predisposed the heirs of the Nisbet circle to embrace later developments of covenant theology. The presence of covenantal theology in the Romans Preface is discussed in Appendix 3, ‘Covenant theology in the Romans Preface’.

¹⁷⁹ An example survives of the conjoined reading of the Preface and the epistle in Calais, Apr. 1539: *LP Henry VIII* 14(1).135. Here it appears that there was some confusion amongst listeners as to what came from the Preface and what from the epistle.

If these complex issues are difficult for modern historical theologians to discern, they were surely almost entirely indiscernible to readers in Ayrshire, who in any case probably did not possess other works on the law or covenants with which to compare the Prologe and Romans Preface.¹⁸⁰ Within these works there is perhaps visible tension between freedom from the law and loving obedience to it, but no more tension than obtains between Romans and James in the NT itself. Lay readers in Ayrshire may have pondered this aspect of the Romans Preface, but probably did not pick up on the subtler theological distinctives within it. Nevertheless, what Tyndale saw as an amplification of Luther may have sown very non-Lutheran seeds in his audience. Charged to keep the law from love and in the power of the Spirit, they were also presented with ethical imperatives, and in the Prologe with Coverdale's vision of the scripturally obedient society. Not immediately apparent to the reader of Tyndale's preface, perhaps not even to its author, this was nevertheless a shift in his or her understanding of *reformatio* to something more akin to the Swiss Reformed than to Luther.¹⁸¹

It is thus difficult to classify the theological influence of the Romans Preface in Ayrshire. Much of the material can be identified with the patterns of Luther's thought, though a smaller portion leans toward Reformed theology. Much of the 'Lutheran' content was common currency amongst

¹⁸⁰ Those in the Nisbet reading circle were presumably not reading this text in a theological vacuum, having affinities with Lollard belief. Lollard views of the law placed more emphasis on the gospels than the OT law, but no editorial changes were made to the Romans Preface, so the editor must not have been concerned by what he was copying. The Nisbet conventicle, as will be discussed, was theologically developed. If any of them were in the Kyle group, one accusation (art. 9) raised this subject indirectly. See Hudson, *Premature Reformation*, pp. 376-7, on Lollards and the OT law.

¹⁸¹ See the discussion of Luther's views on *reformatio* and 'betterment' in Heiko A. Oberman, *Luther: Man Between God and the Devil*, tr. Eileen Walliser-Schwarzbart (NY: Image, 1992), pp. 57-81.

Protestants, such as justification by faith alone, but the Preface did present it in characteristically Lutheran terms. Dissenting communities in Ayrshire would later receive George Wishart, John Knox, and Christopher Goodman, all associated with Swiss Reformed theology, though their presence probably had little to do with theological distinctives. Similarly, Ayrshire would later see a number of adherents to the National Covenant, but to trace this to the view of law in the Romans Preface would be extremely precarious. What held true for the rest of the country held true here: a Protestant document held by dissenters contained basic Protestant teaching, and avoided contentious issues. No discussion of the really divisive issue, the Lord's Supper, appears in the Romans Preface, and its position on the law was blurred, containing material by Luther as well as Tyndale.

The lasting influence of the Preface probably came from its emphasis on justification by faith, and its encouragement for believers bearing daily the crosses of religious persecution and general hardship. Although this document, along with the Prologe, told its audience how to read Scripture, it also enjoined them to place Scripture before human teaching.¹⁸² Without sharp polemic, it thus taught a radical shift in thinking, encouraging lay people to read the Bible themselves and to question its traditional interpreters. Throughout, it was a reformation of doctrine which was of the utmost importance, even when it came to good works, for these could only follow from justification by faith alone.

B.5 Explanatory annotations to the text

Likewise, the marginal annotation contains a mixture of theological influences. Coverdale drew on theologically different sources in his efforts to elucidate the text of the NT, though like the Prologe and Romans Preface, his aim was the assistance of the lay reader rather than theological precision

¹⁸² NTScots 3.345.

on key points. Indeed, Coverdale's eirenicism, coupled with the desire to please Henry VIII, probably kept contentious points out of the notes, and restricted polemical material except when directed at the opponents of the *Defensor Fidei*. Annotational material was, next to the NT text itself, the most immediate source of instruction for the lay reader, owing both to its proximity to the text (in the CNT at the ends of chapters; in the *NTScots* in red in the margins) and to its brevity and clarity. Some classification of the annotations in the CNT and *NTScots* may shed light on their lasting theological legacy.

Most of the notes were produced simply to explain the text to confused readers, a process most obvious in those written by Coverdale himself. Sometimes the notoriously difficult passages were glossed; at other times obscure words were defined; in other cases misinterpretations were checked. In the course of explanation, some notes include significant doctrinal or polemical material. Too complex for discussion here is another important feature of the text, the cross-references. These were often theologically loaded, though like the annotations they were meant as textual aids. Together, notes and references reflect a firm reliance on the analogy of faith – and an awareness of its hazards. Frequently, Coverdale harmonizes the apparent discord between various passages.

The basic pastoral aim in Coverdale's annotation may be seen in most of the notes. He appears to have asked himself what lay readers might find difficult, and then attempted an answer. In some cases, he used Luther's notes for this purpose, beginning with Mt. 1.1, where the genealogy of Christ begins with Abraham and David. Anticipating confusion, Coverdale explains their priority 'because that Christe was specially promysed vnto

them to be of their sede'.¹⁸³ An apparent discrepancy in Mk 2.26 was that the high priest from whom David received consecrated bread was called 'Abiathar', whereas in 1 Sam. 21.4-6 it was 'Ahimelech'. Luther again provided Coverdale's answer: '... it is all anne; for Abiathar was Abimelechs sonne. Ande thai war baith preistis at anne tyme', a fact drawn from 1 Sam. 22.20. Passages that seemed unusual were also addressed. Why, the reader might ask, had Jesus told Mary Magdalene not to touch him in Jn 20.17? Using Luther, Coverdale answered, 'It apperis that Mary Magdalene belewed nocht yit steadfastly that Christ was rysin weray God, and tharfor forbad he hir to tuiche him', whereas 'other wemmen that wer nocht carnell myndit onn him, he sufferit them to twych him, that thai mycht be the better witness of his resurrectiounn onn to his disscipilis, Math. xxviii.'

Occasionally, Luther's explanation was insufficient in clarifying the difficult passages, and Coverdale added to the gloss. Such was the case with the curious passage about the sanctification of an unbelieving spouse by a believer, and about their offspring, in 1 Cor. 7.14. Coverdale's explanation,

Nocht that chyltren ar clenne and haly be nature, for that war aganiss the apostill him self, quhilk preiffis to the Romanis v., that al ar vndir synn originall, and naturally to be the childrenn of Goddis wraith, Ephe. ii. Bot his meanyng is heir, that lik as al thingis ar cleynn vnto the cleynn, Titum i., ewin sua to a Cristynn man anne vnchristin wif is clenng, sua that he may be conversant with hir and nocht offend in the doying, and that the chyltrenn of thamme ar nocht to be reputit as vnlawfull and vncleynne.

¹⁸³ Much of the annotation of Mt. is damaged in *NTScots*, but what survives corresponds readily with the notes in the Nicolson CNTs. In these cases, quotations are supplied from the printing Nisbet probably used, *CNT* (STC 2838). The difference should be readily apparent by the spelling. Law's versification occasionally differs from standard English translations (it was of course absent from the MS); for convenience I will follow standard verse numbers.

took its second sentence from Luther, but the translator added the first sentence to clarify matters even further.

Luther's explanations also might counter older interpretations. In Lk. 22.38, Jesus tells the disciples that the two swords they have will be enough. This text had been used to ground the political doctrine of 'two swords', church and state, but Coverdale's expansive translation of Luther diverts the emphasis to the individual believer:

... it is na neid to feitht with the bodely suerd, bot we monn suffere and bare the croce of persecutiounn and death for the gospellis saik; for na mann cann feitht aganiss the dewill with yronn. Tharfor quha sa will follow Crist monn vterly joperde him self and tak hald only to the suerd of the spret, quhilk is the worde of God Ephe. vi.

The lay reader was in mind for both Luther and Coverdale, and they wished to prevent such a reader from being misled.

Practical points might also be drawn out of the text from Luther's notes. The instruction to agree with one's adversary in Mt. 5.25 is glossed, 'Lyke as he that hath done another man harme, is bounde to reco[n]cyle hemselfe vnto him: euen so he also which is hurte, ought to haue a good hart & to forgeue, that wrath may be put downe on both the sydes.' Here Coverdale the pastor counseled his reading flock wherever they might be. Likewise, difficulty might arise from an overly literal reading of certain passages, such as the instruction of Jesus in Mt. 5.29 to pluck out the right eye if it offends. Coverdale translates Luther: 'This plucking out must be done spiritually: that is to saye, the lust of the eye must be mortified and depressed in the harte.'

In the course of his explanations, Coverdale also used the Matthew Bible. Like the use of Luther, the purpose was clarification, such as with

regard to the perplexing reference to Satan as the god of this world in 2 Cor.

4.4. Coverdale lifted from the MB,

Satann is Godis minister, and can do na mair nor he appoynttis him adoo.

Neuirtheless, ... heir the apostil callis him the God of this warld, becauss the warld
dois commonly forsaike the trew God and serve him; for vnto quhom sa euir we
obey, we mak him our God....

In James 1.13, God is said to tempt no one; Coverdale's borrowed note from the MB explains that this is temptation to evil; on the other hand, God 'euir tempted and preiffit [h]is chosin be trubbil ande persecutiounn.... for gude'. Likewise, practical instruction came from the MB. Eph. 4.26 instructed believers to be angry without sin. Coverdale's gloss mentions the anger of Christ and Moses which was 'a weray zeill vnto the law of God' rather than 'malice or vnlawful wraith'. How was the reader to pray without ceasing, as 1 Thes. 5.17 instructed him or her? The answer from the MB was that this was similar to a prisoner always wishing for freedom, or an invalid for health: the Christian always had a 'vehement desire of the hart towarttis Gode', not 'mony wordis'.¹⁸⁴

But it is in Coverdale's own notes, especially in the gospels of Luke and John, that his pastoral policy is most apparent. In Mt. 20.15, the parabolic lord of the vineyard asked a worker the curious question, 'Quhethir thin ee is wickit, fore I am gude?' (*NTScots*). Coverdale notes, 'This apperiss to be sum strange maner of speiking, and is alss mekill as to saye, Lukkis thow frawart or ewill becauss I am gud[?]' Lk. 14.26 contained the disturbing comment that those who came to Jesus and did not hate their parents and siblings could not be disciples. The gloss from Coverdale

¹⁸⁴ On this topic, cf. Coverdale's own note on Lk. 18.1. The later printings of the CNT by Crom included nine extra glosses to Mt. from the MB, most of which were simple explanations or lexical notes.

offered an explanation: 'That is to saye, as Sanct Mathew exponiss it, quha sa euir luffis his fatheir and modeir, sonne or douthier, mair thann Christ, is not mete for him.' The analogy of faith (in this case from the Decalogue) again provides the qualification,

Treuth it is that euiry man is bounde to honour fatheir and mothier, and to obey them, as lang as thai command not to do aganis Goddis command and his word; bot gif thai wald haif ws doand contrarye tharto, we suld obeye God mair than menn, Actis v., and be content rather to fall in thair displeasour then for to haue the jndignatioun of God.

The analogy of faith could also advise readers about the different uses of a term in the NT. Fear, for example, could be both good and bad. When 1 Jn 4.18 stated that perfect love casts out fear, Coverdale noted that 'scriptur makis mentioun of twa feeris':

The anne is quhen a mann fearis God as anne child fearis his fader; and blyssed ar thai that hes this dreid, Psal. cxxvii., for it is the begynnyng of wysdomme, Prouerb. i., Ecclesi. i., Psal. cx. The other dreid is quhan a seruand dreidis his maister, or quhan a mann is affrayed of his enemy; and sic feer thar was in the Israelites, quhen thai hard the thunddyr and fyrflawcht at the giffin of the law, Exod. xix. Bot thai that be lufferis of the law of Gode hess na sic fearfulness in them, for thai tak God for thair merciful father, ande nocht for a cruell tyrann.

As a pastor, the editor wished not only to make the text clear, but also to encourage his readers.

Discrepancies were also addressed by Coverdale. When in Jn 1.18 it was stated that no-one had ever seen God, he affirmed, 'The nature and substance of God, sa excellent ane maiestye that na corporal eye can se him sa parfitlye as he is.' But what of the records of 'Habram, Jacob, Moyses, Josue, Job, Esaie, Micheas, and other' seeing God? This 'was bot in a glass, ymage and symilitude, i. Cor. xiii. throu his word be the ministratiounn of

angellis: for na man lywyng can see the face of God in his awin nature, Exod. xxxiii.’ Particularly interesting in the addressing of discrepancies is the degree of familiarity with the whole Bible which Coverdale assumed his readers would have. The instance cited above assumes knowledge of the OT narrative books; elsewhere, there was particular concern regarding the comparison of the four gospels. Hence in Jn 1.21, when John the Baptist denied that he was Elijah, Coverdale noted that he was only denying that he was the same Elijah who had been taken up in the fiery cart. Of course, he notes, John was ‘the samme Elias that was promised, Malci. iii.’ (in fact Mal. 4.5-6), as the angel had testified in Lk. 1.17 and Jesus in Mt. 11.10. Coverdale expected his readers to know their Bibles well enough to ask questions about both the OT and NT.

Practical advice is frequently offered in Coverdale’s own notes. In Lk. 10.4, Jesus instructed the disciples to greet no-one on the road as they were sent out to various cities. Readers might wonder whether this applied to them, so Coverdale explained that the command applied specifically to this mission, ‘[b]ot quhen that thai had perfurnist thar message, than he [Christ] will nocht tho contraye, bot that thai may salute ane anothir according to the ordour of luf, els wald the apostilles nocht haif vsit sa mony salutations in thair epistillis.’ The reader could therefore greet his or her friends with a clear conscience. Could the believer really expect to receive whatever he or she asked for, as was stated in Lk. 11.10? Coverdale qualifies this: it is whatever is asked ‘according to his will’, and not ‘dissemlyng prayeris’.

In the course of his practical annotations, Coverdale, like Luther and Rogers, felt it occasionally necessary to ensure that a passage was not read literally. In Lk. 22.36 Jesus told the disciples to sell their garments and purchase a sword, but Coverdale did not consider this to be literal advice either to them or contemporary believers: ‘The suerd is of tymes tayne in

scripture for the worde of God' – perhaps a subtle advertisement as well. Similarly, Paul's instruction in Rom. 13.14 not to make provision for the flesh might be misconstrued, so Coverdale comments, 'Euiry mann may mak honest prouisiounn for his body and vse the creaturis of Gode, for tha ar all gude, ande na thing to be refusit that is receauit with gewing of thankis, i. Timo. iiii., as lang as tha vse thame for necessite, ande nocht for the lustis of the fleische.' In 1 Cor. 7.21 servants were told to seek their freedom, but Coverdale cautions that this does not mean that 'seruandis rynn fra thar seruice becauss that thai ar callit thar vnto be the gospell, for that wer dishonoryng of Christis doctryne' (citing 1 Tim. 6.1). Only if freedom was lawfully agreed by master and servant was it to be sought.¹⁸⁵

In his attempts at explanation, Coverdale demonstrates a consistently Protestant view of himself as a fallible interpreter, who did not always have satisfactory answers for difficult passages. In Lk. 8.39, Coverdale saw a discrepancy:

Quhairas our Saluiour forbad the leparman Math. viii. and the twa blynd menn Math. ix. to tel ony man that he had helpit them, and now bade he this man schaw quhat he had done for them. It is nocht for ws to be cwriouss in searchinge the causse thair of quhy or quhairfor he sa did, for sa jt is his will. Lik as it is his pleasur to schaw alsua the misteryes of his worde vnto babes, and to hide them fra the wyse men of the world. Math. xi.

Mystery could be appealed to when neither the analogy of faith nor an expert interpreter could explain a 'dark place'.

¹⁸⁵ Curiously, Nisbet inserted a negative into the sentence, 'gif a seruande cann *nocht* agre with his maistir lawfully to be fre, the apostill will that he vse sick liberte or fredomm, bot that he sal nocht abuse it' (italics mine). It is difficult to imagine that this was deliberate; indeed, two other instances of 'nocht' appear in the note, which may have prompted this extra use.

Another aspect of the explanatory material was lexical definition, much of which was lifted by Coverdale from Luther.¹⁸⁶ Some Hebrew words were transliterated into Greek by NT writers, such as *racha* in Mt. 5.22 or *hosanna* in Mt. 21.9, both of which were defined in notes. In other cases, the social setting of a term was supplied, such as the explanation of the role of *publicans* in Mt. 5.46, *tetrarchs* in Mt. 14.1, *proselytes* in Mt. 23.15 and Acts 2.10, *legions* in Mt. 26.53, or *lawyers* in Lk. 11.46.¹⁸⁷ Ancient terms sometimes needed explanation, like the *phylacteries* of Mt. 23.5, *Castor and Pollux* in Acts 28.11, or temporal references like *second sabbath* in Lk. 6.1 and *Pentecost* in Acts 2.1. Sometimes lexical definition also served to solve a textual difficulty, such as the chronology of the resurrection in Mt. 28.1. A vague reference might be clarified, such as *his city* in Mt. 9.1 (Capernaum) or *a city of Judah* in Lk. 1.39 (Jerusalem). A lexical discrepancy might be noted, such as the use of *milk* to describe 'the doctryne of the law' in Heb. 5.12, whereas the same image had been used by Peter (1 Pt. 2.2) for the gospel.¹⁸⁸ Such definitions could go well beyond academic textual assistance and range into interpretation; Coverdale's adaptation of Luther's explanation of the *body of death* in Rom. 7.24 was still uncontroversial, but implied an understanding of the whole verse.¹⁸⁹ Similarly, Coverdale used Luther's interpretation of *speaking in tongues* in 1 Cor. 14.2: 'to rede or synge psalmes that vthir vndirstandis nocht, saif the reader him selff'. The *prophecies* over Timothy in

¹⁸⁶ In the Crom printings, many of Coverdale's additional notes to Matthew from the MB were lexical definitions.

¹⁸⁷ Luther defined a legion as a group of 'sechs tausent ongefehr [= ungefähr]', which Coverdale accepted. Nisbet, on the other hand, saw an apocalyptic dimension and adjusted the number to 'sex thousand sex hundreth lxvi'.

¹⁸⁸ Along similar lines, Coverdale occasionally noted a difference amongst translations, such as in the wording of Mt. 16.13, Rom. 12.11, or 2 Tim. 4.14.

¹⁸⁹ Nisbet used 'body of this syn', adapting the annotation to his Wycliffite text, which had for some reason thus translated the Vulgate's *corpore mortis huius*.

1 Tim. 1.18 were 'the doctryne that thow hes receauit allreddy, quhilk is writtin in the prophetes'. These annotations were well in line with Coverdale's policy of explaining the text to his readers.

B.6 Doctrinal annotations

But some of Coverdale's explanation involved the transmission of doctrine, and the notes include a great deal of identifiably Protestant interpretation. This is particularly evident in the numerous notes discussing justification by faith. Some of these are subtler, others very direct. Glossing Jesus' statement to John the Baptist that all righteousness had to be fulfilled (Mt. 3.15), Coverdale translated from Luther that 'Al ryghteousnes is fulfilled, when we put of all oure owne ryghteousnes, that God maye be taken for only ryghteous, and the ryghteous maker of all them that beleue.' Similarly subtle was Luther's note on the need for his followers' righteousness to exceed that of the Pharisees (Mt. 5.20), 'The ryghteousnesse of Pharises sta[n]deth onely in outward workes and apparaunce, but Christ requyreth ye ryghteousnesse of the harte.' Another inconspicuous reference to justification is found in Lk. 7, the story of the woman anointing Jesus' feet. When Jesus proclaims that her sins are forgiven because she loved much (Lk. 7.47), Coverdale felt it necessary to explain, 'na that hir luf caused hir synnes to be forgewin, bot becauss mony was forgewin hir tharfor was hir luf the maire'. The simple message was that works did not bring righteousness, but that Christ did.

Naturally, good works had to be addressed in order to keep readers from misunderstanding passages that might lead them away from justification by faith alone. In Matthew's account of the story of Jesus' anointment by the woman, Jesus says that she has done a good work. Coverdale adapted Luther's note: '... faith only by approbatiounn of God, makis the werk gud; for all naturall reasounn wald haue condampned the

werk of Mary Magdaleynne, as the appostillis did in weray deid'. Works were only good if connected to faith. Similarly, when almsgiving is commanded in Lk. 11.41, Coverdale notes that although Jesus promised that good deeds for his sake will be rewarded (citing Mt. 10.42), 'yit awcht we not to leanne onn the wark, bot onn Goddis promississ'. Ironically, Rom. 1.17's declaration that the just shall live by faith, which had led Luther to his solafideism, needed annotation as far as Coverdale was concerned. His note, however, reflects Luther's concept entirely:

Thocht Christ our saluiour sayis, Luc. x., This do and thou sal leif, he meaniss nocht that men salbe saiffit, justified, or sal leif be thair awyn werkis. Bot as the tixt dois playnly declair, he speikis of the luf toward God, quhilk requiris the haill hart, the haill saull, the hail strenthe, the hail mynd, and rakkis [= reckons] nocht the outward deid for the fulfilling of the law, bot will that the rychtwiss sal leif be faith, Abacuk ii. Nother neiddis menn to say that gude werkis ar distroyed be this text, for as he quhilk luffis God cannot bot luf his nychtbour, ewin sua is it impossibill for the gud tree of faith to be without fructis and gud werkis.

Here the teaching of the Prologe and Romans Preface was reinforced: the law could not be fulfilled without love, so faith was the key, but good works should follow it. This was not to say that faith would lead to perfection, however; Luther's note to 1 Cor. 5.7 reminded the reader that '[i]n the elect chyldrynn of God thair remanyss yit synn, quhilk monn be purgit out'. In Lutheran terms, Christians were *simul iustos et peccatores*.

There were other troublesome texts having to do with works. In Rom. 2.6, Paul stated that God would reward each individual according to his or her deeds. Coverdale's gloss acknowledged that God promises reward for obedience, but noted that our good works could only be accomplished with the help of God, hence 'we autht not tharfor to ascrybe hewin tharfor to our werkis'. He continues, 'Bot this text is playnne aganiss the defender of

menniss rychtwisness, for it sayis nocht that God sall reward euiry man for his deidis, bot according to his deidis – namely, to that gud euirlasting lyf.’ It was particularly important to keep the doctrine of justification clear in the book which most clearly proclaimed it. Likewise, the epistle of James posed difficulties for solafideism, so much so that Luther had criticized it in his preface and subjugated it to a lesser status in his early NTs. Coverdale kept the epistle in its place, but did see the need to clarify its second chapter. Annotating the question whether faith could save one without good works, Coverdale borrowed a note from the MB:

Sanct James speik nocht heir of trew faith, quhilk be luf is mychtj in operatiounn, bot of the wayne ymaginatiounn and opinioun that vnthankfull peopill hes of faith. Ande tharfor dois he call it dead faith, becauss thar followis na gud werkis of it, as thair dois of the faith that justifyis befor Gode.

This interpretation of the text fit it easily into the theological framework of the Prologue and Romans Preface. In the same chapter, James asks whether Abraham was not justified by works (2.21). Coverdale answers in the margin:

Abraham was nocht a wayne tangler of faith, nor yit was he only ane herar of the worde of Gode, bot a doer of the samin. Ande tharfor wes he justified for fulfilling of the commandementtis of Gode in weray deide, quhilk, thocht it wes the operatiounn of Gode on him, yit dois the scripture oftymes ascriwe the justificatiounn to outward deidis; for lik a[s] ane trew man is condampned to be hangit ande ane other gude personn beris wittness of his honestie, sua that the judge deliuer[is him], we saye, This gude man hes deliuiert him fra hynging, quhilk yit sulde nocht be sawit, excep[t he] wer nocht a trew mann. Ewin sua semyss the scriptur sum tymme to ascriwe justificatiounn [to gu]de werkis, quhilkis in weray deide justifyis nocht befor Gode, bot outwardly testifyes of [fai]th ande causiss menn to prais Gode in uss.

The analogy ran the risk of being misconstrued, but the point was clear enough: James was speaking of outward justification, not justification before God.

Some notes mention the relationship between law and gospel, a point with which readers of the Romans Preface were already well acquainted. The first use of the law is found in a note from Luther to Mt. 8.4, 'the lawe accuseth vs, and is a witnesse ouer our synnes'. Similarly, Coverdale's note to Jn 12.50 says that the law 'schawis dampnatioun'. The continuity of love as the ultimate fulfilment of the law was stressed in Luther's note to 1 Jn 2.7 – it was true for the old law, and renewed by Christ. Coverdale picked up this theme in his own notes. His annotation of Rom. 6.14 was very Lutheran indeed, although only the last sentence was borrowed from Luther:

... the freedom of a Christin mann is this, for sa mekill as he is deliuerit fra the curss of the law, vnder the quhilk he was closit afor faith comm, Gal. iii., hes consciens is fre, and he with al is hart is content to gif our him self to be the seruand of rychtwisness, and now to do that of weray luf quhilk the law affor culd noth caus him to do, althocht it condampnt his consciens for leaiffing of it vndonne. Marke this alsua, that as lang as a man puttis his traist in the mercy and grace of God, his conscience is free, and subdewis syn in his fleisch; bot gif he leaynn vnto his awin werkis, or puttis his traist in any vther thing saif only the grace and gudness of God, than regniss synn in him, and the law condampnis his consciens.

Clearly, Coverdale followed Luther's basic understanding of the law: it condemned the sinner, but to one who repented, it would be fulfilled by love. This was qualified in Coverdale's gloss on Heb. 7.18, which noted that free consciences fulfilled the law, and 'thus the trew fulfilling of the law is nocht disanullit, thocht the waike ceremonyis, figuris, and schadois of the auld law be wrocht away'. Whatever the core of the law is, according to Coverdale, 'quhair luf js, thar ar nocht his commandementis hewye, i. Joh. v.'

Thus in a general sense, the annotations reinforce the teaching of the Romans Preface regarding law and gospel. They contain material which is worded in very Lutheran terms, but Coverdale's own notes also encourage the free fulfilment of the law by believers, though without Tyndale's emphasis on this theme. The notes thus raise the question whether Coverdale saw the potential contradictions in the Romans Preface, or indeed meant to take sides in the law/gospel debate. It would appear that he did not, and that he saw the tensions in the Romans Preface as paradoxes rather than problems.

Other doctrinal matter likewise came out in the glosses, and given the immediacy of the notes, certainly had an impact on Murdoch Nisbet and his circle. Scripture itself was held in high regard in the notes. From Luther's notes to Matthew 13 came several comments about Scripture. It could change its readers (Mt. 13.12): 'Where ther is lust to vnderstande and folowe ye worde of God, there it groweth, and altereth me[n] in to a better lyfe.' The image of leaven in Mt. 13.33 reinforced this. Moreover, in spite of the fact that like the mustard seed in Mt. 13.31 '[t]her is no worde in the worlde more despysed then the gossell, and yet is ther nothyng more myghtye: for it is the power of God that saueth as many as beleue thereon: which nother law nor workes ca[n] do'. Scripture was the key to salvation, a fact which Coverdale felt needed to be drawn out even in the context of NT marginal annotation. Jn 5.39 provided a motto for the Montanus title-page, *Search the Scripture*. Coverdale commented that although one must be 'jnwartly teachit be God to cum to his knowlege', believers still ought 'alway to excerse them selfis in the scripture, ethyr be redyng, be exhortyng, or teaching other, i. Thy. iiii.; for the scripture is the jnstrument of Gode ordanit tharto'. Other sources of knowledge of God were rejected: 'As for other vesynes or

apperyng dreames, thay ar deceatful. And quha sa euer regardis sic, takis hald of a schedow, and followis efter the wynd, Ecclesi. xxxiiii.’

Allegorical interpretation occasionally appeared in the notes in varying degrees. Luther’s note to Mt. 2.6 proclaimed that Bethlehem ‘doth ... signify ye Christente’ in that it was small and despised. Similarly the showbread in Mk 2.26 ‘signifyis the word of God’. More allegorical still is Luther’s gloss on the parable of the wise and foolish virgins in Mt. 25.1: ‘Thir lampes without oyle, are gud werkis without faith. Al sick moun of neid slokin and gang out. The oyle in the wesellis is ane steadfast faith that did sic werkes as continew, and ar alowed in the sycht of God.’ The note goes on to state that one should not trust another person’s faith, for the wise virgins did not give oil to their foolish counterparts.

Another doctrinal subject which emerged in the course of illuminating the dark places of the text was Christology. Coverdale appears to have been most concerned that readers not misconstrue statements in the gospels that might appear to derogate the divinity of Christ. Hence he used Luther’s note on Mt. 19.17 to explain that Jesus was speaking ‘efter the nature of mann’ when he asked an enquirer why he called him good. Coverdale himself penned several more notes on this subject. When Jesus said that he did not know when his return would take place (Mk 13.32), the note commented that although Jesus was shown to be divine by his miracles, such statements as this showed him to be ‘weray mann’, along with his ‘eating, drynkyng, wepyng, & c.’ Here he ‘spake as mann, and nocht as God’, which also held true for Jn 5.30 and 5.31. Similarly, Coverdale was careful to stress the equality and unity within the Trinity, such as when 1 Cor. 15.24 mentioned the handing over of the kingdom from Christ to the Father. That Coverdale felt it necessary to reinforce such basic elements of Christian orthodoxy is not surprising, for with the advent of the vernacular Bible came the rise of

Radical movements which alarmed most Protestants, and – more alarmingly still – anti-trinitarian theology. Servetus had already published material questioning this basic doctrine, and Coverdale needed to be sure that his readers were not led astray.

Predestination and related issues appear in a number of notes. These too were areas over which lay readers might well stumble, so Coverdale as expert interpreter offered navigation of the rough passages. Without great precision, these annotations nevertheless touched on a number of the facets of predestinarian theology. First, calling to the gospel was universal, and the offer of salvation was made to all, as Coverdale noted with regard to 1 Tim. 2.4.¹⁹⁰ But there were two callings (Rom. 8.30), one of which was this general ‘outward’ call, and the other ‘inward, quhairby the childyr of God is chosin and predestinat’; the number of the former was greater than that of the latter. All were, however, ‘subdewit be nature’ to ‘the generall infectiounn of originall synn’ (Eph. 2.3).¹⁹¹ Using Luther, Coverdale commented at Mt. 15.13 that ‘ma[n]s fre wyll maye do nothyng to saluacyon, for God muste worcke all’. How then could God’s action in calling some and not others be just? Coverdale answered with Paul’s doxology at the end of the predestinarian discussion in Rom. 11.33:

... he dois mony thingis quhairof he wil nocht mak uss of counsall, nother becummis
it to ony Christin man to be curiouss in searching of sick thingis as ar nocht

¹⁹⁰ Cf. to the more qualified MB note, ‘that is wyll haue y[e] Gospell preached to all men without excepcion & offer to all men repentaunce and will haue all men prayed for.’ Coverdale took from the MB a note on Heb. 6.4, which stated that there was no ‘impossibilite in Godis mercy’, but rather ‘impossibilite of repentance’ in wicked persons. Nisbet mis-copied the first phrase by writing ‘denyis na impossibilite’ rather than Coverdale’s ‘denyeth no possibilite’.

¹⁹¹ This note is yet another example of Coverdale’s explaining discrepancies; in this case, he clarified how former *children of wrath* could also be asked by Jesus and Paul to be like *children*.

expressit in the scripturis of God. As for anne exempill. Quhat haif we ado to searche the cause quhy God condampned anne mann and nocht another? quhy he makis a man ryche and another pur? and sa furth. Quha hes south out his secreit wayis or knawin his prevy mynde? ... be his worde we know quhat his will is, ande quhat he requiris of us, bot na fourther.

God's actions might appear unjust (cf. the note to 1 Cor. 12.6), but humans could not presume to understand his deep ways. Like Luther in the Romans Preface, Coverdale considered predestination to be too strong a wine for the stomachs of his unlearned readers.

Coverdale also placed stress on the limitations of natural reason in understanding divine truth. Following Luther, he noted at Rom. 1.21 that '[q]uhair faith is nocht, thair falllis [*sic*] naturall reasounn fra anne vanite to another'. Nicodemus's question about regeneration in Jn 3.4 illustrated the fact that 'worldly wisdomme, the naturall reason, and fre will of man hes na knowlege of the grace and jnwart werkis of God, ye the doctrynnne thairof semyss bot fwlyschness befor him'. But this was not to denigrate the right use of reason. Paul's instruction to become a fool in 1 Cor. 3.18 needed explanation: this was in 'thingis spirituall, concernyng faith', in which 'euiry man moun forsaik him selff and all his wisdomme and submitt him to the wisdomme and word of God, knowleging the Halye Gaist to be only wyse'. Foolishness should be avoided, however, 'in materis temporall, concernyng outward policy and honest gouernance of the body'. Reason's inability to grasp hidden truths fit with other notes concerning salvation: one could not attain righteousness without divine assistance. A distinction between nature and grace was implied: Luther's note to 1 Cor. 2.14 proclaimed that the 'beestiall man' was the entire person 'without the grace of God'. On the other hand, Christian experience was a reliable guide to truth. Following Luther on Jn 3.33, the Christian 'feillis it prewit in his hart be the experience

of faith that God is trew'; likewise Coverdale noted Jn 4.13 that 'quha sa euir felis his saluatiounn, mercy, and gudness of God in Christ, and hes the trew taist of his word, sal not trist nor desire efter other consolatiounn or strange doctrynn'. Those who experienced the Holy Spirit would desire him and the Word increasingly, so proclamation was among Coverdale's foremost concerns.

The urgency of proclamation is reflected in annotations regarding preaching. Generally stated negatively, these notes implicitly attack non-preaching clergy, such as Luther's comment on the savourless salt in Mt. 5.13, 'When the ministers of gods worde ceasse fro[m] teachinge of it, then must they nedes be troden downe with mens lawes and inuencions'. Likewise Coverdale annotated the public rebuke in 1 Tim. 5.20 as applying to '[s]ic precheris [as] hes offendit aganiss the congregatiounn, other be teaching falss doctrynn or be opin ewill exempill'. Coverdale moreover aimed this at canon law, which allowed evil popes to teach falsely and live wickedly without rebuke.¹⁹² The life of the preacher was stressed again in a note to 1 Cor. 14.31, as well as the importance of calling. As for his teaching, the preacher had to offer grace in addition to the law, following Luther's note to 2 Cor. 3.6.

Another intriguing note concerning ministers was Coverdale's comment on the good shepherd giving his life for the sheep (Jn 10.11):

Gif persecutiounn or trubile be donne only to the ministers of Godis worde, and not to the floke, than may thai flee the tyrannye of tyranness according to the wordis off Christ, Math. x. Bot gif the fleyng away wer the distructiounn of the flock, and we with our abiding mycht withstand the samm be the worde of God, doutless we awtht to gif our lyuess for the bretheir, i. Joh. iii.

¹⁹² The note specifies the reference, 'Dist. xl. ca. papa.'; the latter part of the note was expunged by Crom in his printings.

This note was written from experience: Coverdale had already been forced to flee England once for his beliefs, and would have to do so twice more during his life – hence his epitaph described him as one who ‘too often suffered undeserved exile’.¹⁹³

Along with the word, the sacraments were addressed, though the annotations avoided engaging in intra-Protestant debates about the Real Presence. Coverdale himself seems to have shifted from Lutheran views on the eucharist to Reformed, though he maintained throughout his career a distinctive eirenicism.¹⁹⁴ When the aging Luther published in 1545 a particularly vehement anti-Reformed eucharistic tract, Coverdale was ‘astonished that such distinguished men of the church were therein so wretchedly condemned as fallen pillars’, and worried that ‘bitter and most harsh writings of this sort drive many to an unremediable stumbling block’.¹⁹⁵ Moreover he could write a posthumous defence of Barnes, though the latter had clearly opposed Reformed eucharistic teaching.¹⁹⁶ His notes on the sacraments reflect this concern to avoid unnecessary offence, in both their paucity and their generality. At Jn 6.53, Jesus said that unless one ate

¹⁹³ ‘Indignum passus saepius exilium’, cited in Henry Guppy, *The Royal Injunctions of 1536 and 1538 and “The Great Bible” 1539 to 1541* (Manchester: MUP, 1938; repr. from *BJRL* 22 [April, 1938]).

¹⁹⁴ On Coverdale’s eucharistic views, see Celia Hughes, ‘Coverdale’s Alter Ego’, *BJRL* 65 (1982): 100-24 (pp. 104-5). Hughes suggests that Coverdale may by 1539 have adopted a Reformed view of law and gospel, though on shaky evidence: *ibid.*, p. 105.

¹⁹⁵ ‘Coverdalus et ego legimus stupentes, quod tam egregii viri ecclesiae collapsae columnae illic tam misere essent damnati. ... Huiusmodi acerba et durissima scripta absterrent multos incurabili offendiculo’: from a letter of Nicolas Thomae (Coverdale’s colleague in Bergzabern) to Conrad Hubert, 16 Jan. 1545, cited in Mozley, *Coverdale*, p. 322 (app. D).

¹⁹⁶ On Barnes, see Carl R. Trueman, ‘“The Saxons be Sore on the Affirmative”: Robert Barnes on the Lord’s Supper’, in Stephens, *The Bible, The Reformation, and the Church*, pp. 290-307.

his flesh and drank his blood, there was no life in him or her – a passage which certainly called for comment. Following Luther's note, Coverdale noted, '[t]his chaptur speikis not of the sacrament of the body and blude of Crist, bot of the spiritual eating namely, of faith quhilk is steadfastly to beleif that Christ hes scheid his blude for us'.¹⁹⁷ But following Luther on this note did not mean taking sides: Zwingli, too, denied that Jn 6 had to do with the eucharist. Nevertheless, in the published debate between the two and at Marburg, Zwingli used especially Jn 6.63 (the flesh profits nothing) to attack any notion of physical eating.¹⁹⁸ What was clear to readers of Coverdale's note was that this passage did not support transubstantiation.¹⁹⁹

But Coverdale also added to Luther's note a further pastoral comment. Jn 6.53 is not about the eucharist, 'els wer our chyldren dampned that ar nocht abile to receaue the sacrament'. A logical outworking from his interpretation of the verse, this comment gave the reader another reason to reject transubstantiation, though again without taking sides beyond that. Similarly, a difficult baptismal statement in 1 Pt. 3.21 – that baptism saves – was glossed by Coverdale in a non-partisan fashion. God uses natural means to accomplish physical birth and growth; 'ewin sua does he saif be baptye, as be anne jnstrument of his awin institutiounn'. While baptism was the instrument, salvation was still ultimately 'ascryvit ... to the jnwart

¹⁹⁷ Luther read 'brots vnd weins' where Coverdale translated 'body and blude'.

¹⁹⁸ See W.P. Stephens, 'Zwingli on John 6:63: "Spiritus est qui vivificat, caro nihil prodest"', in Richard A. Muller and John L. Thompson, eds, *Biblical Interpretation in the Era of the Reformation: Essays Presented to David C. Steinmetz in Honor of His Sixtieth Birthday* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1996), pp. 156-85 (pp. 157, 160, 164, 168, 176-80)

¹⁹⁹ The MB was inclined to memorialism, both in its prefatory material and in notes like that to 1 Cor. 7.26, '... Nether is outwarde circumcision or outwarde baptye worth a pynne of them selues / saue that they put vs in reme[m]braunce to kepe the couenaunt made betwene vs and God.' Hence in using the MB and Luther, Coverdale was drawing on differing theological sources.

wyrking of the Haly Gaist'. Little else was said about the sacraments in the notes, not surprising in a document designed for approval under Henry VIII.²⁰⁰

The concern to find royal approval may also be reflected in notes on temporal power and wealth. The Pilgrimage of Grace was at the time of Coverdale's writing a very recent memory, and he was careful neither to offend his sovereign nor to incite his readers. On governmental authority, Coverdale took a thoroughly orthodox line from Luther's notes: the 'offycers of the swearde' were the appropriate avengers of evil (Mt. 5.39) and judges (Mt. 7.1); laypeople were not to take these offices upon them. Likewise Coverdale's own comment on Mt. 26.52 (all that take up the sword shall fall by the sword) is that whoever uses the 'temporal sueird ... except he be anne ordinate officer of the same, for the pwnyschment of ewill doers, he takis the rowmme of God vponn him, and is sedicius'. When in 1 Cor. 7.23 Paul enjoined his readers not to be servants of men, Coverdale saw the need to steer his readers away from seditious interpretation. He states directly, 'It is the ordanance [and] straith commandement of [God], vnder paynne of damp[na]tion, that euiroy subiect [obe]ye [hys prynce, euery seruante] his maistir, euiroy [wi]f hir husbende, and euiroy childe his fader and mother.'²⁰¹ What Paul is speaking of is 'spirituall bonndage', and he is not forbidding due obedience. However, Coverdale does take a politically safe jibe at 'the

²⁰⁰ Barnes, likewise, appears to have modified his Lutheran views to please Henry; see Trueman, 'Saxons', pp. 300-1.

²⁰¹ The normally careful Nisbet made a dangerous mistake in transcribing this comment, as he skipped Coverdale's mention of the prince (I have included it in brackets in the text). In light of the rest of the other notes, and the similarity of 'subiecte' to 'seruant' (an understandable mistake), this probably does not reveal any seditious belief on the part of the transcriber. Although the MS is damaged at this point, it is clear that Nisbet did not include the full phrase: BM MS Eg. 2880, fol. 122v.

obedience of Monkes, of freres and other cloysterers', of which 'the scripture knoweth no suche', again perhaps courting favour with Henry in light of recent opposition to the dissolution of the monasteries.

Henry might also be made uncomfortable by statements about wealth in the NT, and Coverdale offered softening interpretations in the notes. Jesus proclaimed woe to the rich in Lk. 6.24, but Coverdale noted that 'Christ callis nocht menn vnhappy becauss thai ar ryche, bot becauss thai put thair confort and delite in to thar ryches and not in God'. Similarly in Lk. 12.33 Jesus told his listeners to sell what they had, and Coverdale adapted Luther's gloss that in this, along with similar statements in the gospels, 'sic that will follow Crist suld not luf nor set thair affectiounn vponn ony thing that is contrary to God and his word'. Even if they have wealth, Coverdale added, they should behave as if they did not, as Paul had commanded. At Jn 13.29, when Judas is named as the keeper of the purse for the disciples, Coverdale stated, 'To haif monye is na ewill thing in itself, except yow abuse it, or set thi hart aponne it, for euiry creature of God is gud, i. Thy. iiii.' As pastor to simple folk, he also saw fit here to interpret Jesus's instruction to the apostles to take neither staff nor wallet with them, noting that this was specific to the instance. 'Ellis it makis na matir quhiddir thai haif a staf or not, quhiddir thai beare mony with them or not.' Wealthy readers, therefore, did not have to unburden themselves of their riches (or their staffs), so long as they put their trust in Christ.

The few polemical references in the notes were generally inoffensive to the Henrician ecclesiastical establishment of the late 1530s. Some of these had a monastic target. From Luther came a criticism of the 'the strayte lyues of monkes and frerers' as false mourning (Mt. 9.15) and of clerical celibacy, which is 'aganiss the manifest worde of Gode' (1 Cor. 7.35). Coverdale's attack on monastic obedience added to this (1 Cor. 7.23). Criticisms of the

papacy were likewise unlikely to offend the head of the English church, so Luther's note which equated 'the pape and his cumpanye' with the abomination of desolation (Mt. 24.15) and Coverdale's attack on the irreprovability of the pope (1 Tim. 5.20) were safe additions. One other note from Luther attacked the 'papistes' who interpreted the commands in Mt. 5.19 as counsels. Perhaps more politically cautious than Nicolson or Montanus, Crom removed all these references from his editions. Nisbet's Lollard audience would not have objected to such statements in the least.

The CNT's teaching on Mary may surprise modern Protestants, but it was well in line with contemporary reformist teaching. The primary concern in the notes was to maintain Mary's perpetual virginity. When Mt. 1.25 stated that Joseph did not know Mary until after she had borne a son, Coverdale followed Luther's explanation that '[t]his is not to be vnderstande, that Joseph knewe Mary afterwarde'; rather, Scripture sometimes used this 'maner of speakynge', like in Gen. 8.7, when the raven flew about until the earth was dry, but did not return to the ark at that point. A similar point had to be made by Coverdale at Mk 3.31, where Jesus' mother and brothers seek him. These were not his literal brothers, but as Scripture occasionally used the term (with nine references cited), for those 'quhilkis ar of anne kynred'. If the reader failed to recognize this, 'thow sal not only blaspheme ande say that the Wirgynne Mary had ma childe than Christ, bot that the Scripture is contrarye to the self', both obviously undesirable. A different concern regarding Mary was found in the Magnificat at Lk. 1.30. Following Luther, Coverdale noted that the angels's announcement that Mary had found grace with God meant, 'thou hes ane graciouss and ane mercifull God'. Mary's virginity was defended, but she like every other believer could only be justified by faith.

A considerable body of theological material, though unsystematic, pastoral, and relatively eirenic, thus made its way to the Ayrshire conventicle of Murdoch Nisbet by way of the glosses from the CNT. On most of these points, there was no disagreement between Lollard and Protestant, and Nisbet's audience was presumably as appreciative of the notes as he obviously was. In a Lollard reading conventicle, the text of the NT was the centre of religious focus, and annotations explaining difficulties, drawing out practical instruction, and elucidating basic theology surely made a deep impact on reader and listeners alike.²⁰² There is, however, one intriguing exception to this pattern.

B.7 Annotations omitted by Nisbet

Nisbet was a careful editor, occasionally correcting the original, and checking cross references. As a result, he left out four notes for textual reasons. In the CNT, the disciple Lebbeus (Mt. 10.3) is glossed as being Jude; Nisbet left this out since his Wycliffite original read 'Thadee' rather than Lebbeus. Likewise, Coverdale glossed 'Mammon' in Lk. 16.9 as unjust riches, but Nisbet's text already made the point by translating the term 'the riches of wickitnes'; Coverdale's note on 'Syrtes' (Acts 27.17) was also anticipated by the Wycliffite 'sandy places'. Another omitted note was at 1 Cor. 14.2, where Coverdale interpreted speaking in the Spirit as 'by hymselfe'. Nisbet's text read, 'Bot the spirit spekis mysteries', which changed the subject of the sentence from the human to the Spirit, and rendered the gloss irrelevant.

The only other note Nisbet omitted was left out for a much different reason. This was a gloss on Mt. 5.34, where Jesus forbade swearing.

²⁰² In fact, the marginal material may have made a deeper impact still if it was part of the common Lollard practice of memorizing the text: see Hudson, *Premature Reformation*, pp. 190-1.

Coverdale had softened this, commenting that although swearing by one's self was prohibited, 'whan ye honoure of God, loue, necessite or wealth of a mans neghbourne requyreth, it is well done', like righteous anger. There is no textual reason why Nisbet should have omitted this note, nor can it be thought to be an oversight in light of the editor's exacting standard of transcription. The reason for omission in this case was that Nisbet had not abandoned his Lollard roots when he embraced evangelical teaching: he still opposed swearing. The theology he found in Coverdale was agreeable and useful, but it was not accepted uncritically. Nisbet's Lollardy also shows through in his apocalyptic reading of the gloss on Mt. 26.53; where Luther and Coverdale had announced that a legion was about six thousand men, Nisbet adjusted this to the more apocalyptically suggestive 6,666. It is much less probable that Nisbet's omission of 'euery subiecte obey hys prynce' at 1 Cor. 7.23 had anything to do with Lollard views of temporal authority. Lollard teaching in Scotland thus survived not only until the early sixteenth century; it was alive well into the 1540s, and possibly later. That Nisbet should have left out the note permitting swearing also suggests that the Ayrshire Lollards of the 1490s were not just basic dissenters, but devotees of a fairly developed theology.

Nisbet's exacting transcription of almost all the aids to the reader in the Coverdale NT, due in part to his notarial training, thus illuminates the connection between Lollard and evangelical theology in Ayrshire.²⁰³ On the one hand, this Lollard was willing to adopt almost wholesale a body of evangelical teaching on justification by faith, law and gospel, the authority of Scripture, and various lesser points. On the other hand, he retained his

²⁰³ In fact, the exactness may reinforce the assumption that Nisbet was responsible for both compositional phases of the *NTScots*. Hudson comments on the lack of notes in early Tyndale NTs owned by Lollards, *Premature Reformation*, p. 488.

Lollard heritage over against Protestant doctrine where the two disagreed about lesser details. The mixture is remarkable in both respects, as it shows Ayrshire Lollards existing well into the sixteenth century, and embracing evangelical teaching with little reservation.

The reading conventicles of Murdoch Nisbet, Campbell of Newmilns, and Gordon of Airds were all secretive, and as such left little trace of their activities aside from the *NTScots*. Like their English counterparts, the focus of their meetings was discussion of the text of the NT; whether any further religious observance took place is uncertain. The nature of these discussions cannot be known, though Nisbet may well have acted as the primary teacher in his conventicle, and a teaching priest is mentioned in Alesius's account of Campbell. One of the later references to Gordon of Airds mentions an English Lollard teacher, but the account is too late to be taken at face value. The secrecy of such groups resulted from actual or potential persecution, and/or the perceived threat of social stigma.²⁰⁴ This secrecy obscures their activities today as much as it did in the early sixteenth century, but it also reveals the fact that these groups felt threatened from without. This accounts in part for their longevity and durability; at the same time, it is clear that they had enough contact with Lollardy elsewhere to maintain a relatively developed doctrinal stance. Nisbet was certainly not in a theological vacuum before he transcribed Coverdale's aids to the reader, nor was this his only source of theological instruction.

It is impossible to know how many in Ayrshire were affected by Lollardy, but even if they were numerically insignificant, these Lollards were advanced in beliefs held in common with their brethren to the south, and they found in evangelical theology a congenial ally. Cowan referred to

²⁰⁴ Cf. Hudson, *Premature Reformation*, pp. 192-94 (discussion); 157-68, 263-4 (persecution).

emergence of the Lollards of Kyle as ‘inexplicable’, but the developed state of their belief, coupled with the evidence that Nisbet’s circle was distinctively Lollard into the 1540s, suggests that the trial of 1494 was against offenders who had been practising their religion for some time, and who passed their convictions to others.²⁰⁵ How far back this pattern goes is a matter for speculation, but it cannot have been too close to 1494. An organic connection thus *may* exist between the early and late phases of Lollardy in Ayrshire.

C. Late references to Lollardy

But in at least one case, Lollardy and evangelicalism did not mix. This was in Dundee, where the Wedderburn brothers composed the *Gude and Godlie Ballatis* in the period before 1560. In a metrical version of the Lord’s Prayer comes a surprising reference to Lollardy:

Saif vs from schame, and from dispair,

From unbeleue, and Lollardis lair,

And Deuillis doctrine mair or les.²⁰⁶

To the editor, Mitchell, the negative use of ‘Lollardis lair’ indicated that the translation came from someone still in the old church, but in the second stanza God is entreated, ‘Behauld nocht my vnworthynes, | Bot luke till Christis rycheousnes’, which probably associates the song with evangelical dissent.²⁰⁷ It is plausible to assume that in this part of the country Lollardy was known only as a term of doctrinal opprobrium – perhaps only through sources like Kennedy’s *Flyting* – even to Lutherans like the Wedderburns.

²⁰⁵ Cowan, ‘Regional Aspects’, p. 7.

²⁰⁶ A.F. Mitchell, ed, *A Compendious Book of Godly and Spiritual Songs, Commonly Known as ‘The Gude and Godlie Ballatis’* [hereafter G&GB], STS 1st ser. vol. 39 (Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons, 1897), pp. 11-13 (quotation p. 13).

²⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 11-12, p. 13 n. 2.

Another ballad with connections to fifteenth-century heresy was a Scots translation of Luther's *gebessert* version of Jan Huss's hymn on the sacraments, 'The Supper of the Lord, and richt vse of it, to be sung'. Luther's version retained the essence of Huss's original, but was not anything like an exact translation. The Scots version makes no mention of the connection to Luther, let alone to Huss, but it does retain a strong emphasis on the Real Presence, including the statement that God

Gaif vs his bodie for to eit

In forme of breid, and gaif us syne,

His blude to drink, in forme of wyne,

which would have been difficult for most Lollards to accept.²⁰⁸ By comparsion, Coverdale in his *Ghostly Psalms and Spiritual Songs* (1539) used nine of Luther's hymns, but did not use either of his two hymns on the eucharist, reflecting perhaps his Swiss leanings in the omission.²⁰⁹

D. Conclusion

Lollardy has usually provided only a brief introduction to studies of Protestantism in Scotland, and indeed few treatments demonstrate anything more than a passing relevance of the fifteenth-century heresy for its sixteenth-century successor. Closer inspection does not reveal masses of Lollards behind every reference to heresy in official documents or contemporary chronicles, but it does show a reasonably developed form of the heresy which was led at one point in the early 1400s by a native preacher in the diocese of Glasgow. While there is sparse evidence for heresy in the

²⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 16-18 (quotation p. 17). The Lollard Wyche, in his trial, was willing to stated that the host was *corpus Christi in forma panis*, but would not add *in specie panis*: Hudson, *Premature Reformation*, p. 284. Huss's original adheres to transubstantiation, including statements like, 'O quam sanctus panis iste, I tu solus es, Ihesu Christe!' and 'Non es panis, sed es deus': Mitchell, *G&GB*, p. 244 (app. 2).

²⁰⁹ Hughes, 'Coverdale's Alter Ego', pp. 103-4.

mid- to late fifteenth century, it is intriguing that the re-emergence of Lollardy occurred in that same diocese, and with the accusation of developed Lollard theology. Of course it may be that these accusations were borrowed from the south by Archbishop Blackadder, but the fact that the same individuals charged retained connections to one another, and were generally associated with later Protestant belief, seems to indicate that in Kyle was indeed 'a receptacle of Goddis servandis of old'.

Kyle was, of course, only one region, and there is reason to believe that in Dundee, where many dissenters might be found, the term meant nothing save heretical belief and practice. If regionally limited, Lollardy in Ayrshire was nevertheless long-lived, and Murdoch Nisbet in the late 1530s or early 1540s still maintained Lollard distinctives while embracing new teaching from England. Moreover, it was around this time that reformist friar John Rough and Protestant preacher George Wishart were making their way to Ayrshire, and finding a welcome for their teaching there. With Wishart particularly, there emerges the first trace of a network of dissent in early modern Scotland; not only did he apparently know where to go when heading west, he also returned to meet with dissenters in Angus, the Mearns, and Lothian. The Lollards of the west thus were integrated with their evangelical brethren elsewhere in the country, though they might retain their own distinctive beliefs.

While a limited number of contemporary Protestants in Scotland recognized Lollard roots, Knox in casual research found these in Ayrshire, and his historiographical lineage includes mention of these dissenters. John Davidson drew out the connection in his account of a descendant of the Campbells of Cessnock; years later, some covenanters seem to have viewed Lollard ancestry as a badge of Protestant pedigree, which resulted in the printing of the accounts of Nisbet, Gordon of Airds, and John Andrew

Duncan. Two of these covenanting descendants, John Nisbet and Alexander Gordon, were friends. These accounts might be discounted as inventions of a minority seeking legitimacy, but for the physical evidence of Nisbet's account, the *NTScots*.

This document, moreover, moves the study of Scottish Lollardy naturally into that of early evangelicalism, for it also represents one of the largest and most theologically comprehensive documents of pre-Reformation evangelical belief in Scotland. The breadth of its influence cannot be gauged, but its depth must have been considerable. Lay readers heard the material in this NT alongside the authoritative text itself, and its simple, pastoral message must have rung true to its hearers, as it did to the transcriber. The work, like many other documents of early Scottish evangelicalism, reflects Lutheran teaching at many points, particularly in its terminology. Indeed, many of the notes were lifted straight from Luther. But other elements of the preliminaries and notes show Swiss influence, so the *NTScots* does not fit neatly into the 'Lutheran' category into which it has generally been placed. And like many other early Scottish evangelical documents, the *NTScots* avoids the most contentious issue of the Real Presence, not surprising in light of the fact that its provenance was in the eirenic Coverdale.

Organic connections can only be suggested between early and late Scottish Lollardy, but they can be shown conclusively to obtain between late Lollardy and early evangelicalism in Ayrshire. Moreover, this connection is limited both geographically and numerically; there is little reason to believe that Lollardy was rampant in the southwest. Nevertheless adherents of the older heresy would become leaders of the new and widespread heresy that arrived with Rough and Wishart, and no doubt left a lasting if subtle stamp of Wycliffite teaching on the early Scottish evangelicals.

Chapter three: Evangelical theology at St Andrews University and beyond

John Knox introduced Patrick Hamilton as the one 'at whome our Hystorie doith begyn'.²¹⁰ Much subsequent historiography has followed Knox's lead with regard to this starting-point, and with good reason: the trial of Hamilton set precedents for official suppression of heresy and for the underground spread of evangelical teaching, and it was reported by famous men in faraway parts of Europe. But this trial, for all its fame and importance, was neither the genesis nor the matrix of religious dissent in Scotland. Long-established heretical groups elsewhere believed and practised differently, and movements that began life after Hamilton's death did not generally follow his lead. At a local level, however, Hamilton's life and death were decisive in shaping the religious commitments of some individuals who would later play crucial roles in the shaping of Scotland's reformed church. Thus the attention in this chapter will be focused on St Andrews as an epicentre of the spread of Protestant thought from the mid-1520s to the mid-1530s, during which time it is clear that Luther's teaching had begun to affect both university and town.

The progression from the previous chapter is thus neither strictly chronological, nor strictly regional, nor strictly topical. Nevertheless it is clear that the evangelical religious dissent embraced by certain individuals at St Andrews University and beyond was both independent of and distinct from that of the late Lollards who came to embrace Protestant teaching in the west, and as such must be treated separately.

A. The first arrival of Lutheran teaching

Before Patrick Hamilton, others had adopted and spread Lutheran ideas in Scotland. Often mentioned but obscure is the Frenchman Monsieur de la Tour, who came to Scotland with the Duke of Albany, and was later

²¹⁰ Knox, *Works*, 1.13.

burned in Paris for spreading Lutheran teaching ('il y avoit semé plusieurs erreurs luthériennes') while there. It is unclear on which of Albany's visits de la Tour, a native of Poitiers, had been present, but it was certainly in the early 1520s and before the Duke's final departure in 1524. Strangely, the burning did not take place until 26 Oct. 1527, which may suggest that this shadowy figure continued to proselytize in his homeland after returning.²¹¹ It may be assumed that de la Tour accompanied Albany when he travelled within Scotland, but the extent of his dissemination of doctrine, and local reaction to it, must remain mysteries. In any case his activities were deemed serious enough to merit burning by the Parlement. De la Tour's apprehension acts as a reminder that much proselytization can never be detected: he is known only because he was caught.

B. Patrick Hamilton

Patrick Hamilton's life and death hold an important position in the historiography of the Scottish Reformation. Following Knox's history, many accounts of the growth of Protestant theology and practice in Scotland begin with Hamilton, giving him pride of place as 'Scotland's first reformer' who penned the 'charter of Scottish Protestantism'.²¹² Accounts of Hamilton may also be found in several cognate studies: he appears in histories of the

²¹¹ The account of his burning is preserved in V.-L. Bourrilly, ed., *Le Journal d'un Bourgeois de Paris sous le Règne de François 1^{er} (1513-1536)*, 2nd edn, Collection de Textes pour Servir à l'Étude et à l'Enseignement de l'Histoire, vol. 43 (Paris: Libraire Alphonse Picard et fils, 1910), pp. 363-4 (quotation p. 363). Here he is listed as 'Poictevin'. His servant, too, had held 'la secte de Luther' and was beaten and had his tongue cut out, though he recanted to avoid dying with his employer: 'il se repentit, parquoy il n'en mourut': *ibid.*, p. 364. Fleming mistakenly claimed that the servant died from these injuries: *Reformation*, p. 173.

²¹² James Edward McGoldrick, 'Patrick Hamilton, Luther's Scottish Disciple', *SCJ* 18.1 (Spring, 1987): 81-88 (p. 88); William A. Clebsch, *England's Earliest Protestants 1520-1535*, Yale Publications in Religion vol. 11 (New Haven: YUP, 1964), p. 82. These views are widespread.

Henrician Reformation and of the University of Marburg, and in historical theological studies of solafideism.²¹³ Thus the basic facts need not be thoroughly rehashed, but rather reconsidered, with a view to context both historical and theological.

B.1.a Hamilton on the continent

The year of Hamilton's birth is uncertain; Alesius claimed that he was 'barely thirty' when he died, while Lambert claimed that he was 'about twenty-three' when he arrived in Marburg (in 1527).²¹⁴ Lambert's assertion, made within two years of his association with the young Scot, has been more generally accepted than the much later account of Alesius, thus placing his birth around 1504; however, Durkan notes that Alesius was present at the execution and considers his suggestion of c. 1498 more plausible.²¹⁵ Hamilton's well-known connection to the Hamilton earls of Arran helped secure for him, before having attained canonical age, the abbacy of Ferne *in commendam*, in late 1517 or early 1518.²¹⁶ The benefice from this appointment may have been used to send Hamilton to Paris for his

²¹³ A wide variety of these will be cited in this chapter. A remarkable amount of misinformation about Hamilton can be found in various accounts, even in the most reliable extended study, Rainer Haas, *Franz Lambert und Patrick Hamilton in ihrer Bedeutung für die Evangelische Bewegung auf den Britischen Inseln*, Inauguraldissertation, University of Marburg, 1973. For the present purpose, only those errors salient to questions of the development of evangelical belief in Scotland will be rectified, but most accounts of Hamilton need to be scrutinized closely.

²¹⁴ Cited in Peter Lorimer, *Patrick Hamilton, the First Preacher and Martyr of the Scottish Reformation* (Edinburgh: Thomas Constable, 1857), pp. 238 (Alesius), 240 (Lambert). This volume was intended to be the first of a series entitled *Precursors of Knox*, but only this first volume appeared.

²¹⁵ John Durkan, 'Scottish Reformers: the Less than Golden Legend', *IR* 45 (Spring 1994): 1-28 (p. 11).

²¹⁶ Robert Kerr Hannay, ed, *Acts of the Lords of Council in Public Affairs 1501-1554* (Edinburgh: General Register House, 1932), p. 103 and note.

education, where he appears under the *magistri iurati* in late 1520, and where he could still be found early in 1522.²¹⁷

While studying in Paris, Hamilton and his fellow students were no doubt aware of the Faculty of Theology's deliberations concerning Luther's debate with Eck at Leipzig. These had been sent them on 4 Oct. 1519, and deliberations proceeded slowly and privately. Farge notes that what might have been a relatively straightforward condemnation of Luther was complicated by the Gallicanism of the faculty: support for Eck could be construed as support for papal authority over against the rights of the French church. The task was, however, facilitated by Luther's developed treatises of 1520; the faculty could now condemn Luther without committing itself to papal authority. At last the official condemnation was handed down on 15 Apr. 1521, by which time Hamilton had graduated.²¹⁸ The young Scot thus was aware of Luther's controversy with Eck, and saw how quickly the German moved to more shocking positions with each new publication – as he was guided by the Faculty of Theology, most of whom opposed Luther's doctrine.

Hamilton could be found in Paris as late as 1522, at which time he appears to have departed.²¹⁹ According to Alesius, Hamilton had studied at Louvain as well as 'in other academies'.²²⁰ Although there is no record of Hamilton at the University of Louvain generally, nor at the *Collegium*

²¹⁷ Haas, *Lambert*, p. 59. The Parisian records are reproduced in John Durkan, 'The Cultural Background in Sixteenth-Century Scotland', in *Essays on the Scottish Reformation 1513-1625*, ed David McRoberts (Glasgow: Burns, 1962), pp. 274-331 (pp. 329-330).

²¹⁸ James K. Farge, *Orthodoxy and Reform in Early Reformation France: The Faculty of Theology of Paris, 1500-1543*, Studies in Medieval and Reformation Thought, vol. 32 (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1985), pp. 125-26.

²¹⁹ Durkan, 'Cultural Background', pp. 329-30.

²²⁰ '... in aliis academiis': cited in Lorimer, *Patrick Hamilton*, p. 238. The only other academy which Hamilton certainly attended in the first phase of his career was St Andrews.

Trilingue, the fact that the faculty of Louvain sent a letter to Archbishop James Beaton praising him for burning the young heretic suggests that he had, in fact, spent time at the university.²²¹ Louvain was no friendlier to Luther than Paris; in fact, its faculty of theology had been the first to condemn Luther, in 1519. Whether or not Hamilton had any interest in Luther when he went to Louvain, he was presented with yet another negative picture of the man and his teaching.

Hamilton's encounter with Lutheran theology while in Paris and Louvain made some impression upon him, whether negative or positive. In either case, Wiedermann rightly doubts that the lad of 19 returning to St Andrews considered himself 'Lutheran' in any sense.²²² Humanism, also generally opposed by, but present at, both universities, had more certainly made a positive impression on Hamilton. At Paris, many doctors were suspicious of humanism, including the influential John Mair and Noël Beda; before 1520 the latter had linked humanism to Lutheranism. Moreover, the Faculty of Theology had opposed the humanist-inspired reforms in the diocese of Meaux, and investigated Jacques LeFèvre d'Étaples for his role in them. On the other hand, a few faculty members during Hamilton's tenure pursued humanist studies (*e.g.* Josse Clichtove), and protection from François I ensured that the humanist-inspired reforms in the diocese of Meaux would continue at least until the king's capture by the Spanish in 1525. By 1527 Erasmus would be formally condemned, and the Meaux circle broken, by the Faculty of Theology.²²³

²²¹ The letter survives only in translation in Foxe. Haas could find no evidence of Hamilton in the Louvain records: Haas, *Lambert*, p. 59.

²²² Wiedermann, 'Martin Luther versus John Fisher', pp. 15-16. Haas considered Hamilton's contact with Luther at Paris and Louvain to be 'der Same für seine spätere Aufgabe': Haas, *Lambert*, p. 59.

²²³ Farge, *Orthodoxy and Reform*, pp. 170-73, 184, 192.

Hamilton's second university took a similar position *vis-à-vis* humanism; in fact, in 1521 Erasmus claimed that Paris received the new learning more readily than Louvain.²²⁴ On the other hand, at Louvain was the famously humanist *Collegium Trilingue*, guided for a time by Erasmus and committed to the study of grammar and rhetoric. That this college may have been Hamilton's place of study is suggested by Alesius's report that he 'called philosophy back *ad fontes*, Aristotle and Plato, banishing and rejecting sophistries out of the schools', and Knox's comment that he 'abhorred sophistrye, and wold that the text of Aristotelis should have bene better understand and more used in the schoolles then than it was'.²²⁵ Later accounts of Hamilton which claim that he met Erasmus while in Louvain should be considered with caution.

B.1.b Hamilton at St Andrews University

At the end of these three sketchy years Hamilton reappears, being incorporated at St Andrews University on 9 June 1523 along with John Mair, newly recruited from Glasgow.²²⁶ Not until 3 Oct. 1524, however, was the young student received as *magister*.²²⁷ Haas has suggested that Hamilton returned in order to pursue postgraduate study with Mair, but this conjecture does not account for the potential of conflict between the student's apparent humanism and the teacher's resolute opposition to it.²²⁸

²²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 176.

²²⁵ 'Philosophiam revocabat ad fontes, Aristotelem et Platonem, relegatis et explosis sophismatibus ex schola': cited *ibid.*, p. 238; Knox, *Works*, 1.15.

²²⁶ James Maitland Anderson, ed., *Early Records of the University of St Andrews: The Graduation Roll 1413-1579 and the Matriculation Roll 1473-1579*, SHS 3rd ser. vol. 8 (Edinburgh: SHS, 1926), pp. 218-19.

²²⁷ Annie I. Dunlop, ed., *Acta Facultatis Artium Universitatis Sanctiandree*, 2 vols, SHS 3rd ser. vols 54-55 (Edinburgh: SHS, 1964), 2.346.

²²⁸ Haas, *Lambert*, p. 61. On Mair and Humanism, see Durkan, 'Cultural Background', pp. 281-84.

Moreover, Hamilton may not have been aware that Mair was headed to St Andrews at the same time as he. Perhaps his return, like Mair's, was fueled in part by 'nostalgia' for his homeland.²²⁹ Whatever the motivation for his return, Hamilton stayed in the familiar environs of the university.

The university had its notables before the arrival of Mair, including logician George Lokert, a fellow product of Paris. But Mair, both as an established author and a respected teacher, brought real celebrity to the university, where he taught in both theology and arts.²³⁰ To the classroom Mair brought his considerable nominalist intellectual skills; to the university administration he brought his experience of the Paris system, which resulted in changes to examination policy.²³¹ In a time of theological uncertainty many at the university looked to him for guidance; Knox reports that his 'wourd then was holden as ane oracle, in materis of religioun'.²³² Mair's departure for Paris in mid-year 1526 dealt a blow to the university.²³³

The theology faculty's Parisian connections no doubt rendered it familiar ground – though on a far smaller scale – for the young Hamilton. Not only did its curriculum and its nominalism resemble Paris, so also did its suspicion of humanism and its opposition to Luther.²³⁴ The faculty's role as guardian of orthodoxy was first manifest in the refutation of Luther in academic dispute, guided by Fisher's *Confutatio* and perhaps steered after 1523 by the skilled hand of Mair. Alesius would later report on this debate,

²²⁹ J.H. Burns, 'New Light on John Major', *IR* 5 (1954): 83-100 (pp. 87-88).

²³⁰ Alexander Broadie, *George Lokert: Late-Scholastic Logician* (Edinburgh: EUP, 1983), pp. 7, 12; Burns, 'New Light', pp. 92-93.

²³¹ Broadie, *George Lokert*, p. 12.

²³² Knox, *Works*, 1.37.

²³³ Burns, 'New Light', pp. 93-94.

²³⁴ Not all Scottish universities were hostile to humanism; Aberdeen, for example, welcomed humanists and their teaching; Kirk, 'Religion', pp. 362-64.

noting that his own efforts in this respect were greeted 'with the applause of the theologians'.²³⁵ However, embedded in the *Confutatio* was the entire text of Luther's *Assertio*, which, perhaps combined with other works by Luther, appears so to have affected Hamilton that he was called before the Archbishop to answer an accusation of heresy.²³⁶ The young Scot had thus followed many others down the path from humanism to heresy.

At some point prior to his summons, Hamilton acted as *praecentor* in the St Andrews cathedral for a nine-part Mass which he had composed.²³⁷ The composition of a Latin Mass for a feast day ('Benedicant Dominum omnes angeli ejus') has been taken as evidence that Hamilton's belief was not at this stage properly Lutheran, and this is true to a degree: Luther had introduced reforms to the Latin Mass such as the expunging of references to sacrifice. Hamilton's composition does not, however, separate him decisively from Lutheran sympathy, for Luther himself continued using a reformed Latin Mass in Wittenberg even after the introduction of the *Deutsche Messe* at Christmas 1525, and he advocated the continued setting of the Mass in Latin as well as German (as well, more improbably, as Greek and Hebrew).²³⁸ That Hamilton acted as the *praecentor* does offer evidence that

²³⁵ Cited in Wiedermann, 'Martin Luther', p. 22.

²³⁶ 'Catholic refutations of Protestant texts could function as a means for disseminating the very ideas they set out to combat': Rex, 'Early Impact', p. 64.

²³⁷ 'Missam ... novem vocum ... composuit, in honorem angelorum.... Hanc cantionem in ecclesia metropolitana S. Andreae curavit cani, et ipse precentorem egit': cited in Lorimer, *Patrick Hamilton*, p. 238.

²³⁸ The case that the Mass shows Hamilton as not yet Lutheran may be found in Wiedermann, 'Martin Luther', p. 16, or McGoldrick, 'Patrick Hamilton', p. 83. On Luther and the development of the German Mass, see the narration in Heinrich Bornkamm, *Luther in Mid-Career 1521-1530*, ed Karin Bornkamm, trans. E. Theodore Bachmann (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1983), pp. 136, 473-77.

the young scholar was most probably ordained, in spite of his youth.²³⁹ John Frith, in the introduction to his translation of Hamilton's theses, claims that the Scot 'toke vppon him preesthod (euen as Paule circumcysed timothe to wynne the weake Jewes) that he might be admitted to preach the pure worde of god' – an unbelievable explanation which nevertheless lends further credence to Hamilton's ordination.²⁴⁰

How precisely Hamilton's support for Luther developed and came to the notice of the authorities is as unclear as what those authorities considered 'Lutheran'. Whatever the case, Hamilton had been accused and summoned, and had fled the country, during Lent 1527.²⁴¹ The second citation of Hamilton, in 1528, does not explain why, how, or for what reasons he was cited initially, but simply that he was suspected of 'many heresies'.²⁴² An analogy to the more detailed accusations of 1528 in the *citatio* cannot necessarily be drawn, since in the intervening months Hamilton spent a few months studying Lutheran doctrine with a Lutheran professor at a Lutheran university. Undoubtedly he found himself in accord with significant

²³⁹ Haas argues that the absence of reference to ordination in the citation and sentence might indicate that Hamilton was not in fact ordained, though he remains judiciously undecided on the question: Haas, *Lambert*, p. 73; however, the sentence does specify deprivation of 'all dignities, honours, orders, offices, and benefices of the Church': Foxe 1583, p. 975. Lorimer argued that Hamilton was a priest, and that concessions were made for his non-canonical age: Lorimer, *Patrick Hamilton*, p. 64. I am grateful to Prof. Margot Fassler for helpful information on the office of *praecentor*. Durkan says that Hamilton was 'certainly in orders', and seems inclined to accept Frith's account: 'Cultural Background', p. 296; 'Scottish Reformers', p. 11. This *pace* McGoldrick, *Luther's Scottish Connection*, pp. 38-39.

²⁴⁰ Haas's reprinting of the so-called 'Patrick's Places' is the only critical edition of the text, and will be followed here. Quotation from Haas, *Lambert*, p. 146.

²⁴¹ Foxe, *A&M* (1576), cited in Knox, *Works*, 1.510.

²⁴² '... de heresi multiplici': the full *Citatio* is found in Lorimer, *Patrick Hamilton*, pp. 289-92 (quotation p. 289). Durkan believes the *Citatio* to repeat the earlier charges: Durkan, 'Scottish Reformers', p. 13.

portions of Luther's teaching before fleeing, or he would not have chosen Marburg for his academic sojourn; likewise, the *disputatio* he composed while there shows well-digested knowledge of Luther's dialectic of law and grace, which led Wiedermann to the conclusion that Hamilton was a 'fully convinced Lutheran' before he arrived at Marburg.²⁴³ Hamilton's theology may have been fine-tuned at Marburg, but it cannot have been formed from scratch in the very short time he spent there. Thus Wiedermann's basic premise stands firm: it was at St Andrews, guided by Luther's *Assertio* (perhaps embedded in Fisher), and possibly his *Babylonian Captivity, Freedom of a Christian*, and Melanchthon's *Loci communes*, that Patrick Hamilton committed himself to the theological positions for which he would suffer exile and death.²⁴⁴

Three fellow-students accompanied Hamilton when he fled after his first citation; the works of Luther affected more than one St Andrews scholar.²⁴⁵ One of these, Gilbert Winram, had also studied with Mair in Paris and would die around 1530 in Marburg. Winram's surviving books suggest that he beat a theological path parallel to Hamilton's: he owned two volumes of Mair on the *Sentences*, the works of Aristotle, an Erasmus NT, and the latter's *Annotations*.²⁴⁶ Like Hamilton, Winram had studied nominalist theology with Mair, and had become attracted to humanism before formally allying himself in exile with Lutheranism, corresponding with Bucer before his death.²⁴⁷ Hamilton's theological development was thus not unique.

²⁴³ Wiedermann, 'Martin Luther', p. 16.

²⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 18-19, 34. Wiedermann compares basic theological premisses in order to arrive at this conclusion.

²⁴⁵ Lambert refers to 'uno ex tribus quos secum huc veniens duxerat': cited in Lorimer, *Patrick Hamilton*, p. 240.

²⁴⁶ Haas, *Lambert*, pp. 10, 60; *ESL*, pp. 160-61.

²⁴⁷ Durkan, 'Scottish Reformers', pp. 12, 13 n.

Other students at St Andrews during Hamilton's two and a half year stay would later emerge as leaders of evangelical reform, and it may be that they were led to their theological commitment by the same means as Hamilton, or indeed perhaps by Hamilton's own urging. These certainly include Alexander Allane (Alesius), George Buchanan (matr. and det. 1525), John Douglas (inc. as *magister* in 1523), a Henry Forrest who may be the later martyr (det. 1526), two John Johnsones, either of whom may be the author (one matr. 1524, the other det. 1527 and was lic. 1529), Alexander Seton (matr. 1522), and future songwriters John (det. 1526/7, lic. 1528) and Robert (matr. 1527) Wedderburn. It is likewise possible that John Winram, Henry Balnaves (inc. as *magister* 1527), and John Gau (det. 1510, lic. 1512) were present during this period.²⁴⁸ This list, though not exhaustive, includes a number of individuals who can later be identified as actively evangelical in varying degrees. They represented the various colleges of St Andrews – the *Pedagogium* (later St Mary's), St Salvator's, and St Leonard's, the latter of which, Knox famously claimed, 'begane to smell somewhat of the veritie, and to espy the vanitie of the receaved superstitioun' after Hamilton's death. It was certainly the most open to humanism. Knox attributes much of the emergence of evangelical thought at St Andrews to questions raised about Hamilton's death, though it may be that during his life, he and his peers had already taken significant steps in that direction.²⁴⁹

²⁴⁸ For the dates, see Dunlop, *Acta Sanctiandree*, 2.299, 302, 316, 354, 357, 358, 361, 363, 365; Anderson, *Early Records*, 98, 100, 106, 108, 110, 116, 118, 120-21, 123, 125, 204, 211-12, 218-19, 221-22, 225.

²⁴⁹ Knox, *Works*, 1.36. On the colleges, see James K. Cameron, 'A Trilingual College for Scotland: The Founding of St Mary's College', in *In Divers Manners: A St Mary's Miscellany*, ed. D.W.D. Shaw (St Andrews: St Mary's, 1990), pp. 29-42; and John Durkan, 'Education: The Laying of Fresh Foundations', in *Humanism in Renaissance Scotland*, ed. John MacQueen (Edinburgh: EUP, 1990), pp. 123-60 (151-52).

Books, and perhaps fellow students, encouraged these scholars to embrace evangelical doctrine, but in so doing they had to defy, at least privately, the official stance of the university and its theological leader. For his part, Mair encouraged the weeding of the 'pestiferous tares of the Wickliffites, Hussites, and their followers, the Lutherans', and the disinfecting of their 'serpent's poison'.²⁵⁰ Concerning the sacraments, 'he did not know whether Oecolampadius, Zwingle [*sic*], or Luther was the worst'.²⁵¹ Mair was not present during the trial and execution of Hamilton, but was quick to congratulate Archbishop James Beaton for 'courageously pulling out, not without the ill-will of many, a prominently noble but calamitous follower of the heresies and perfidies of the Lutherans'.²⁵² Mair's opposition to Luther, which must have emerged in his lectures as well as his administrative influence, may have served to polarize the debate. Although at St Andrews Mair was considered an 'oracle in materis of religioun', the humanist Melanchthon was not impressed: 'Good God! What wagons of trifles! ... If [the faculty] at Paris are like this, it is no wonder, reader, why they are not kind to Luther'.²⁵³ Students of this respected teacher and author could not have dismissed Mair so lightly, however; to agree with Luther was

250 '... Wicleuitarum item et Hussitarum et eorum sequacium Lutheranorum pestiferas zizantias'; 'circumspectissima tua sapientia nuper viperinae Lutheranorum infectioni aeternum peperit e Scotia exterminium': from the dedication to James Beaton in the 1529 commentary on Matthew, quoted in John Major, *A History of Greater Britain as well England as Scotland, Compiled from the Ancient Authorities by John Major, by name indeed a Scot, but by profession a Theologian*, ed and trans. Archibald Constable, SHS vol. 10 (Edinburgh: SHS, 1892), p. 447.

251 Cited from the commentary on the gospels in *ibid.*, p. xciii.

252 '... non sine plurimorum invidia nobilem in primis sed infelicem Lutheranae haereseos [?] et perfidiae sectatorem viriliter sustulisti: ut secundum nomen tuum sit et laus tua': *ibid.*, p. 448.

253 Cited in Lorimer, *Patrick Hamilton*, pp. 42-43.

to take on the greatest mind in the university. The influence of Mair on his students must have been complex: the opponent of Luther and humanism who urged reforms in the church, the champion of the lost cause of conciliarism who argued for union with the old enemy England, left an interesting legacy.²⁵⁴

That many of those who would play a significant role in the development of evangelical religion in Scotland came from St Andrews is not surprising; this was, after all, where many of the brightest young men went to study, and where the Augustinian order kept a few of them for years after their graduation. Of course, the university also produced opponents of the evangelicals, such as John Hamilton. If some students were attracted to Luther and his followers, it is in any case clear that they were going against the official position of the university, a position that would be reiterated in the initial stages of the refoundation of the *Pedagogium* in 1539, when a dying James Beaton approved as an aim of the new college the opposition of heresy. This refoundation, which would become St Mary's College, may have towed the line on orthodoxy, but it marked a shift in the university's stance toward humanism: it was conceived by Archibald Hay as a trilingual college.²⁵⁵

B.1.c Hamilton at Marburg

Hamilton's last months have been well-rehearsed. With his two friends he fled to Marburg; Knox's claim that he had gone to Wittenberg cannot be true, as the plague had hit the city at the time, and the reformer

²⁵⁴ See Major, *History*, pp. 41, 217-18; James K. Cameron, 'The Conciliarism of John Mair: A Note on *A Disputation on the Authority of a council*', in *The Church and Sovereignty c. 590-1918*, ed Diana Wood, SCH.S 9 (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991), pp. 429-35.

²⁵⁵ Cameron, 'Trilingual', p. 40. Haas's suggestion that the other companion of Patrick Hamilton was the later Archbishop John Hamilton is rendered impossible by the latter's age at the time: Haas, *Lambert*, p. 12. On humanism at the university, see Kirk, 'Religion', p. 364.

and his students had themselves fled.²⁵⁶ The University of Marburg, founded by Philip of Hesse, was the first Protestant university foundation, and its leading theologian was Francis Lambert. The three Scots appear on the register, Hamilton listed thirty-eighth along with the students in spite of his M.A. Haas argues that this placement was the result of a conflation of registration-lists, and that Hamilton showed up later because he arrived after the first list had been compiled, meaning that he arrived after 30 May.²⁵⁷

Addressing the Landgrave later in 1528, Lambert recalled Hamilton's stay:

... he came to your university from that corner of the world, namely Scotland, that he might be strengthened more fully in God's truth; however, I confess that I have scarcely found another who speaks more spiritually or sincerely of the utterances of God. For he often discussed these things with me.²⁵⁸

Lambert's conferences with Hamilton resulted in the first public *disputatio* at the university:

²⁵⁶ Knox seems to assume that Lambert was at Wittenberg, and this may be a simple mistake rather than wishful thinking on his part: *Works*, 1.15. Calderwood and Spottiswoode followed Knox on this point, and it may be found more recently in McGoldrick, 'Patrick Hamilton', p. 84. For the correction, see Haas, *Lambert*, pp. 64-65.

²⁵⁷ The other options, which Haas rejects, are that Hamilton was listed along with his fellow-Scots, who were students, or that natives should be listed first: Haas, *Lambert*, pp. 66-67. Haas dismisses the claim, which first appeared in Beza's *Icones* and which was followed by Jean Crespin, that Hamilton was a professor; this was a misunderstanding of Foxe's (1559) 'publicam sustinens professione[m]': *ibid.*, p. 67 and n. 199. The suggestion that Hamilton might have encountered Frith or Tyndale in Marburg (e.g. the latter in *ibid.*, p. 29) suffers from thin evidence for the presence of either Englishman: for Frith see N.T. Wright, *The Work of John Frith*, Courtenay Library of Reformation Classics (Appleford: Sutton Courtenay, 1978), p. 7.

²⁵⁸ '... ab illo mundi angulo, nempe Scotia, venit ad tuam academiam ut abundantius in Dei veritate confirmaretur; de quo veruntamen testor me vix alium reperisse qui de eloquiis Dei spiritualius ac sincerius loqueretur. Saepe enim mecum de eisdem contulit': cited in Lorimer, *Patrick Hamilton*, p. 240.

Moreover, he was the first since the founding of the university by your highness to affirm there some most Christian *axiomata*, publicly and learnedly, having consulted about them with me.²⁵⁹

As a professor, Lambert wanted to encourage such *diputationes*; given his solid academic credentials, Hamilton could be trusted with the inaugural session.²⁶⁰ That Hamilton and his *axiomata* received such high praise from Lambert indicates, as Wiedermann argues, that the Scot did not arrive in Marburg in order to learn Lutheran theology, but because he was already versed in it.²⁶¹ These *axiomata* would form the basis for *Patrick's Places*.

B.2 Patrick's Places

Of Patrick's Places, or *Dyuers frutful gatheri[n]ges of scrypture concernyng faith and workes*, much has been written. The publication history of the work, which appeared in several different forms throughout the sixteenth century, has been of particular interest. This history meanders from the initial appearance of the *axiomata* along with John Frith's *A disputacion of purgatorye* (Antwerp: Simon Cock) in 1531, through four independent printings in English (the last in 1598), two translations into Dutch, an appearance in John Gough's 1536 Primer (as 'The nosegay or posee of lyght', in which form it may have been prohibited in 1539), inclusion in the first volume of Knox's *History*, to a slightly edited reprinting in Foxe's *Actes and Monuments* from 1570 on.²⁶² The LeMerchant Primer of

²⁵⁹ 'Praeterea et is primus fuit, qui post erectam a tua sublimitate academiam, in eadem Christianissima aliquot axiomata palam et doctissime, me hoc illi consulente, asseruit': *ibid.*

²⁶⁰ Haas refers to the professor as 'disputationsfreundlich'. He also suggests that Lambert may have selected Hamilton owing to their bond as outsiders ('Nicht-Deutschen'): Haas, *Lambert*, p. 68.

²⁶¹ Wiedermann, 'Martin Luther', pp. 16-17.

²⁶² Haas has provided the fullest discussion of the publication history: Haas, *Lambert*, pp. 89-103. This is generally reliable, although it omits one individual printing, STC 12731.6: see Wright, *Frith*, p. 475 n. 2. On the 1539 prohibition of the 'Spiritual Nosegay', see Clebsch,

1538 likewise included some phrases from *Patrick's Places*.²⁶³ A fragment also survives from 1566, a handwritten page in the library of Emmanuel College, Cambridge which only records an expanded title, followed by 'Newly imprinted at London by ... 1566'.²⁶⁴ Was this to have been another edition? In light of these reprintings and the appearance of Hamilton's work within the *A&M* particularly, Clebsch considered it 'perhaps the most widely read of all early English Protestant writings save the Bible translations'.²⁶⁵

There was good reason for this popularity, and for Frith's desire to translate and publish the *Places*. With its catchy, memorable phrasing and general clarity, Frith believed that 'it entreateth exactlye of certeyne comen places / which knowne / ye haue the pith of all diuinite'.²⁶⁶ But Frith intended for his audience 'my nacyon' of England 'to whom J besech god geue light / that they maye espye the deceytfull pathes of perdicyon & retourne in to the right waye', thus his translation is into 'the english tongue'.²⁶⁷ Naturally, the question arises whether Frith changed or

England, p. 83. Clebsch is correct that *Patrick's Places* were not in Foxe's first edition of the *A&M* (1570), but states incorrectly that there was no account of Hamilton in this edition: *ibid.*, pp. 83-84; Foxe 1570, p. 460. Noting Foxe's editorial expansions of the text of the *Places*, Clebsch suggests that he 'drastically ... tempered the radical theology' of Hamilton by adding emphasis to the law and works: *ibid.*, p. 84. Trueman, however, believes that the rephrasing by Foxe is 'entirely consistent with ... Lutheranism': Carl R. Trueman, *Luther's Legacy: Salvation and the English Reformers, 1525-1556* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1994), p. 125 n. 24.

²⁶³ Charles C. Butterworth, *The English Primers (1529-1545): Their Publication and Connection with the English Bible and the Reformation in England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1953), pp. 172-73; on the Gough primer, p. 128.

²⁶⁴ See Haas, *Lambert*, pp. 102-3, which also corrects Clebsch, *England*, p. 82, where the author appears to have misremembered this as a printed page.

²⁶⁵ Clebsch, *England*, p. 83; though the Romans Preface, included in many early English Bibles, surely had a wider readership.

²⁶⁶ Haas, *Lambert*, p. 146. All citations from the *Places* will be from Haas.

²⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

expanded the text, and there have been various answers: Clebsch seems to have minimized Frith's editing, while Watt attempted to reconstruct stages of Frith's work on the text.²⁶⁸ Frith's own introduction gives all the credit to Hamilton, and there is no reason to doubt him, particularly since he was not attempting to hide his own identity.²⁶⁹ How and when Frith came into possession of the *axiomata* is uncertain; it may be that Hamilton continued to work on the *Places* after he returned to Scotland.

Patrick's Places reflects the author's digestion of various works, and a thorough knowledge of the Bible; a considerable portion of the work is scriptural quotation. Wiedermann demonstrates its dependence on Luther's *Freedom of a Christian Man* and Melancthon's *Loci communes*.²⁷⁰ The themes in the work recur frequently in Luther's early tracts, however, and it is impossible to say just how widely read Hamilton was.²⁷¹ As a *disputatio*, the work is focused on its subject: law in relation to gospel, and works in relation to faith. However, its tone is often that of a 'sermon' or 'litany'; indeed its language is 'calculated to evangelize'.²⁷² In this respect, it is notable that the work varies between structured sets of syllogisms, to scriptural quotations,

²⁶⁸ Clebsch, *England*, p. 82; Hugh Watt, 'Hamilton's Interpretation of Luther, with Special Reference to "Patrick's Places"', in Alexander Cameron, ed *Patrick Hamilton: First Scottish Martyr of the Reformation* (Edinburgh: Scottish Reformation Society, 1929), pp. 28-36 (30-34). Haas refutes Watt's formulation, Haas, *Lambert*, pp. 87-88.

²⁶⁹ A minor exception is the phrase, 'The gospell ys as moch to saye in oure tongue / as good tydynges': Haas, *Lambert*, p. 149. This appears to be an interpolation by the translator.

²⁷⁰ Wiedermann, 'Martin Luther', pp. 18-19.

²⁷¹ For the phrase 'The lawe sayeth paye thy dette The gospell sayeth Christ hath payed it', Wiedermann finds several potential sources: *ibid.*, pp. 17-18 and n. 16.

²⁷² Gerhard Müller, 'Protestant Theology in Scotland and Germany in the Early Days of the Reformation', *RSCHS* 22 (1986): 103-117 (p. 107); Durkan, 'Scottish Reformers', p. 12 (citing Alexander Broadie); Clebsch, *England*, p. 85.

to more accessible, memorable series of pithy statements, and it is possible that Hamilton added material to the original university presentation.

B.2.a Law and Gospel in *Patrick's Places*

The opening of the *Places* shows it to be a Lutheran work, as it starts with law rather than gospel.²⁷³ The ten commandments are listed, though not in Luther's numbering, followed by scriptural passages which develop the idea that all the law can be summarised 'love thy neyghboure as thy selfe' and '[h]e that loveth god kepeth al the com[m]aundmentes' (147-48). There follows a syllogistic development of the relationship between faith and the law. Faith in God implies love for God, love for God implies keeping the commandments, thus faith keeps the commandments. However, 'With out grace / it is impossible to kepe anye of the commaundementes of god', and as 'grace is not in oure power', humans are unable to keep the law (148). The law was given to show sin, but its commands are 'impossible for vs'; answering why God should command something impossible, Hamilton answers that it was simply to drive the individual to 'seke remedie at summe other' (149). This basic establishment of law and gospel follows Luther, though it does not address original sin.²⁷⁴

In a series of twenty-one short sentences, Hamilton defines the gospel in terms of Christ's work, *e.g.*

Christ is the savioure of the worlde

Christ is oure sauioure

Christ dyed for vs

Christ died for oure synnes (149).

²⁷³ Trueman, *Luther*, p. 121.

²⁷⁴ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 122. Original sin is implied in another section toward the end.

With a steady cadence and elegant simplicity, these sentences seem rather didactic than axiomatic. A similar set of short oppositional sentences follows, describing the difference between law and gospel:

The lawe sheweth vs oure sinne

The gospel sheweth vs remedie for it...

The lawe is the worde of Jre

The gospell is the worde of grace...

The lawe sayeth / paye thy dette

The gospell sayeth Christ hath payed it (150).

These sections show Hamilton developing his *axiomata* in a memorable fashion probably designed with a non-academic audience in mind. They might, of course, have been part of the original *disputatio*, but the argument does not require them, at least not in this form, which is more doxological than logical.

B.2.b Justification by faith in *Patrick's Places*

Having established the law/gospel dialectic in basic terms, Hamilton turns to faith, immediately offering the example of Abraham. A series of syllogisms follows: to believe God is to believe his word; faith is a gift of God, not in our power; without faith we cannot please God (151); those who do not trust God or his word consider him a liar, '[a]nd how can a man beinge of this facyon please him?' The converse, however, is that '[a]ll that is done in faith pleaseth God', for those who believe God and his word put their trust in him. Does this mean that 'theft / murther / advoutrye and all vices' are pleasing if done in faith? 'Naye verelye for they can not be done in faith: for a good tre bereth good frute' (152). This expands the argument using Luther's standard trees/fruit analogy, and introduces the crucial arguments that faith is a gift and that it does not eschew good works.

Faith, moreover, is not simply belief but 'surenesse' (152), recalling Luther's *fiducia*. The scriptural quotations that follow include the vital Rom. 1.17, '[t]he iust ma[n] liueth by his faith'. Faith is to believe and trust in Christ and his word, which is the gospel (153). Following a series of further biblical passages, Hamilton proposes the converse: those without faith will be condemned. However, those with faith are 'the sonnes of god'; an almost creedal development follows, from Peter's confession 'thou arte christ' to '[w]e haue beleued and knowe that thou arte Christ' to 'J beleue that thou arte Christ' (154).²⁷⁵ Those who do not believe the gospel do not believe God (155).

Another series of antiphonal opposites follows, this time a comparison of faith and unbelief. This series makes it clear that faith is the key to salvation and good works:

Faith maketh god and man good frendes

Incredulite maketh them foes. ...

Faith onlye maketh a ma[n] good and rightwise.

Incredulite onlye maketh him iniust and evell. ...

Faith maketh a man the enheritoure of heaue[n].

Incredulite maketh him enheritoure of hell (155).

Toward the end of the list is the brief statement that '[f]aith onlye saueth vs' (156). Thus faith is clearly the starting-point for the Christian, and hope and love will follow.

To his academic audience, Hamilton's discussion of faith, hope, and love turned the *disputatio* to some hard-fought polemical ground. Hope should be placed in God, who alone can help; it should be placed in no

²⁷⁵ Immediately following this is a restatement that those who believe God believe the gospel; Hamilton repeats several of the 'Christ' sentences from pp. 149-50: Haas, *Lambert*, pp. 154-55.

earthly things (156). Charity is 'the loue of thy neyghboure', and holds everyone equal. But hope and love are secondary to faith.

Faith cometh of the worde of god / hope cometh of faith / and cherite springeth of them both. Faith beleueth the worde / hope trusteth after it that is promised by the worde / cherite doth good vnto her neyghboure thorow the loue that it hath to god & gladnes that is with in her selfe.

Faith trusts God and his word; hope looks for the promised rewards; love seeks the neighbour's good (157). Without mentioning it, Hamilton was structuring his argument against the claims of Catholic polemicists that Gal. 5.6 and other texts showed a synergy of faith and love which disproved justification by faith alone.

B.2.c Faith and works in *Patrick's Places*

'No maner of workes make vs rightwyse we beleue that a man shall be iustefyed wyth out workes': the thorny question of faith and works is thus introduced to the *Places*. Since Christ, 'the maker of heavyn and erth' (157) died for humans, 'we are copelled [*sic*] to graunt that we were so farre drouned & sunke[n] in sinne that neyther oure dedes nor all the treasures that ever god made or might make / might haue holpe vs out of them'. Hamilton now follows Luther by turning to the converse: if works do not make us righteous, they must also not make us unrighteous, hence 'workes make vs neyther good nor evel'. While this statement probably shocked listeners unfamiliar with Lutheran soteriology, it can be found in various texts by Luther.²⁷⁶ As restated in the trees/fruit analogy, this point implies original sin: 'Good frute maketh not the tre good / nor evell frute the evell tre / but a good tre bereth good frute & an evell tre evell frute'. Like the trees and their fruits, good men do good works, and evil men evil works

²⁷⁶ Hamilton is quoting passages from *The Freedom of a Christian*: see Martin Luther, *Three Treatises*, ed Helmut T. Lehmann (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1985), pp. 297-98.

(158). Hamilton concludes '[n]one of oure workes neyther saue vs nor condempne vs' (159).

This invited the challenge of antinomianism, which Hamilton anticipates: 'Thou wilt saye / the[n] maketh it no matter what we do'. He responds that this does matter, because evil acts imply a lack of faith, whereas good deeds are a sign of faith. This would have been a natural point at which to introduce Luther's explanation of how those with faith could still sin, being *simul iustus et peccator*, but his final section turns instead to an exhortation to both faith and works. Those who think their works save them deny Christ's death for them (159). His death was because of 'loue he had to the ere ever thou wast borne', and all he wants in return is 'that thou wilt aknowledge what he hath done for the & beare it in minde / & that thou woldest helpe other for his sake both in worde & dede'.

Those who have faith should 'folow his fotesteppes', helping others because of 'his goodnesse & gentlenesse towards vs', which suggests Luther's understanding of spontaneous, heartfelt obedience in response to the gospel. But whoever does works in order to ensure salvation thinks 'J saue my selfe', and thus in effect, 'J am christ'. Likewise, it is improper to do works 'to gette the enheritaunce of heave[n]', for this implies that this is not granted for Christ's sake, and is therefore a denial of the gospel (160). This is not to say that Christians should not do good works, but that they should not put 'false trust' in them, thus making them 'poysoned & become evel'; this leads to a prideful fall like Lucifer's (161).

B.2.d Theology of *Patrick's Places*

Hamilton was clearly influenced by Luther, not only in his general theological outlook, but also in his phrasing, his scriptural citations, and his imagery. The basic progression of ideas, from inability to fulfill the law to faith in Christ to the fruits of faith, pervades Luther's early tracts and had

spread by 1527 through many parts of the continent. While *Patrick's Places* does not offer as full a treatment of Lutheran theology as summaries like the Romans Preface, it is a remarkably rich summary of the central doctrine in a very few pages. Hamilton could assume that his audience understood the basics of Thomist soteriology against which he presented his *axiomata*, and he left them unstated. His greater concern appears to have been the assimilation of solafideism by those who heard his theses, and he showed a flair for composing lively and succinct summaries.

This unusual structure does mean that the intricacies of the doctrine of justification by faith were not always spelled out; nevertheless, Clebsch would claim that the divide between law and gospel was 'radically Lutheran', and in fact revealed a divide between Frith, the editor, and Tyndale, who was gradually moving toward a more Reformed position on law and gospel and the *tertius usus legis*.²⁷⁷ While Clebsch overstates Tyndale's understanding of works in salvation, it is true that the latter's language 'tended to blur' the distinction between law and gospel.²⁷⁸ It is safe to assume that this straightforward solafideism constituted the primary thrust of Hamilton's preaching once he returned to Scotland.²⁷⁹

C. Trial and martyrdom

C.1.a Return to Scotland

²⁷⁷ Clebsch, *England*, pp. 83-84. See also Trinterud, 'Reappraisal', and Appendix 2.

²⁷⁸ Wright, *Frith*, p. 29; Trueman, *Luther*, p. 126 (quotation).

²⁷⁹ The *Places* have been assessed in comparison to Knox by Iain Torrance, in the framework of later debates regarding justification: Iain R. Torrance, 'Patrick Hamilton and John Knox: A study in the doctrine of Justification by Faith', *ARG* 65 (1974): 171-185. This article is curiously taken as 'revisionist' by McGoldrick, who says that the article 'contends that Hamilton taught the Scholastic doctrine of "infused grace"': McGoldrick, *Luther's Scottish Connection*, p. 48. Torrance's article may be guilty of anachronism by imposing later discussions of justification on *Patrick's Places*, but he certainly does not make him a Thomist.

Hamilton returned to his homeland in the latter part of 1527. His mentor Lambert described his departure:

When he had been made stronger in the teachings of piety, he returned to Scotland, taking one of the three whom he had brought here with him, and taught Christ openly, becoming the first and thus famous apostle of the Scots.²⁸⁰

However grave his decision to flee had been, Hamilton's decision to return was graver still, as he was still under a citation for heresy which he had defied by flight. His reasons for returning remain unknown, but they must have been compelling. The choice of a destination was easier. Hamilton's brother James had, since 1525, been the Sheriff of Linlithgow in addition to Laird of Kincavil.²⁸¹ In his brother's jurisdiction, Hamilton had at least some prospect of security and freedom.

Alesius claims that during Hamilton's stay at Kincavil – or perhaps before he left? – the young priest married; according to Alesius, 'because he hated hypocrisy, he did not wish to invite reproach, and shortly before his death he married a noble maiden'.²⁸² Alesius's wording invites a number of questions, such as whether Hamilton was involved with this or another woman previously, but offers no further detail. Amorous endeavours might have been winked at, but a marriage, if revealed, would have been shocking,

²⁸⁰ 'Ubi autem robustior in pietatis doctrina factus est, assumpto uno ex tribus quos secum hum veniens duxerat, rediit in Scotiam, et palam Christum docuit, factus Scotorum primus et idem inclytus *apostolos*': cited in Lorimer, *Patrick Hamilton*, p. 240. Moving back from the date of Hamilton's burning, 29 Feb. 1528, and taking into consideration travel time, his stay at home, and his month in St Andrews after being summoned, it cannot have been much later than October (and possibly earlier) that Hamilton left Marburg.

²⁸¹ Haas, *Lambert*, p. 72. One short article on Hamilton confuses Patrick and his brother: Richard G. Eaves, 'Patrick Hamilton: Scotland's First Lutheran Martyr', *Renaissance Papers* (1971): 9-16 (13-14).

²⁸² '... quia hypocrisin odivit, noluit inducere cucullum, et paulo ante mortem duxit nobilem virginem uxorem': cited in Lorimer, *Patrick Hamilton*, p. 238.

and Durkan has rightly asked who would in fact have performed such a marriage in Kincavil at the time.²⁸³ Marriage does not appear in the surviving charges against Hamilton. Regardless of his marital status, Hamilton did leave a daughter, Isobel, who in 1543 appears in the Treasurer's Accounts as 'dochter to unquhill Patrik, abbot of Ferne' and a 'gentlewoman' in the service of Arran's wife.²⁸⁴ Had she been born in 1528, she would have been fifteen years old at the time.

C.1.b Preaching in Kincavil

Hamilton's stay in Kincavil cannot have been much longer than two or three months, and he appears to have exercised himself in preaching during this time. The *Citatio* details the reports

that recently [since his flight] he has returned to his homeland; and that from the moment he arrived he has dared to take up the office of preaching heresy ascribed to him, though not sent by obligation, nor fortified of prerogative, privilege, or duty, but by his own authority and rash presumption; and to promulgate the heretical, depraved, and perverse opinions of Martin Luther the heretic – already condemned by the church – and his friends and followers, teaching and spreading and stubbornly maintaining [them]; and he is shameless to instruct the Christian people concerning these things, and thence to seduce the simple and illiterate faithful Christians of this kingdom, who themselves and with their ancestors have fought constantly for the church of God for such a long period of time – indeed 1300 years and more – from our true orthodox faith and the catholic church, by saying, preaching, and with daring presumption affirming openly and publicly, among other things [the following].²⁸⁵

283 Durkan, 'Scottish Reformers', p. 16. Durkan likewise doubts the possibility of a continental marriage.

284 *Treasurer's Accounts*, 8.174-75, 183, 187-88.

285 '... Ipsum nuperrime in patriam reversum et quod primo statim adventu non debite missus nec prerogativis aut privilegiis debitis munitus, sed propria auctoritate et temeraria

As Hamilton's *axiomata* would not be published until after his death, what concerned the authorities was his preaching. Clearly, within the safety of his brother's jurisdiction as sheriff, Hamilton was preaching heretical material in public. The *Citatio* lists the reported content of his preaching:

The laws, canons, ordinances and decrees of the fathers, being human constitutions, ought not be obeyed; the keys and censures of the church should be disregarded, and the sacraments of the same not believed, the sanctuaries not frequented, nor images worshipped, the souls of the dead not prayed for; nor tithes paid to God and the church; that there will be no profit for good works, nor punishment for evil deeds; our ancestors in the God's church and those who believe in its sacraments to have died in an evil and wicked belief, and to have been buried in hell.²⁸⁶

If this list is at all accurate, it shows Hamilton to have moved from the evangelical theology of the *axiomata* toward more fully developed Lutheran conclusions – though they may have been caricatured in the *Citatio*.

C.2 The charges

presumptione, predicationis officium de heresi ei designata acceptare ausus est, et suas hereticas pravitates et perversas Martini Lutheri heretici alias ab ecclesia damnati et suorum fautorum ac sequacium opiniones promulgare, docens seminansve et pertinaciter affirmans, ac populum Christianum de eisdem instruere non erubescit, indeque simplices et illiteratos hujus regni Christi fideles qui in se et progenitoribus per tanta temporis curricula, spatio viz. mille et trecentorum annorum et ultra in ecclesia Dei constantissime militaverunt, a vera nostra orthodoxa fide et catholica ecclesia seducere, et quantum in eo est pervertere nititur et proponit, dicendo predicando et temerario ausu inter alia palam et publice affirmando...': cited in Lorimer, *Patrick Hamilton*, pp. 289-90.

²⁸⁶ 'Legibus, canonibus, patrum sanctionibus et decretis, humanis quoque constitutionibus non esse obtemperandum; Claves et censuras ecclesie contempnendas, nec sacramentis ejusdem fidendum, Tempia non esse frequentanda, nec ymagines adorandas, pro defunctorum animabus non esse exorandum; nec decimas Deo et ecclesie solvendas; pro bonis operibus nullum fore salutis premium nec pro malis cruciatum; Nostros progenitores in ecclesia Dei et ejusdem sacramentis fidentes in mala et iniqua fide esse mortuos et in inferno sepultos': *ibid*, p. 290.

Hamilton, in any event, compeared in St Andrews around the end of January; Alesius remembered him being in the town where 'he taught and disputed openly in the University of St Andrews for about a month before he was taken captive'.²⁸⁷ Hamilton may have been given 'his freedom and libertie' in St Andrews so that the authorities could gather evidence against him, and it would appear that he picked up this gauntlet readily, for the final charges against him include material other than that in the *Citatio*.²⁸⁸ Of a more academic nature are the charges listed by Alesius:

1. Man does not have a free will to do good works before [receiving] the Holy Spirit.

2. Good works do not make a man good, but a good man makes good works.²⁸⁹

Clearly these reflect Hamilton's solafideist outlook, which Alesius debated with Hamilton while the latter was in St Andrews after his summons.

Alesius had hoped to persuade Hamilton to abandon his views, but found himself instead attracted to them, as was Dominican prior Alexander Campbell. Hamilton spent a great deal of time debating justification and

²⁸⁷ 'Docuit et disputavit palam in academia apud S. Andream plus minus mensem priusquam caperetur': *ibid.*, pp. 237-38.

²⁸⁸ For the quotation, Knox, *Works*, 1.15. Alesius seems to believe this, Lorimer, *Patrick Hamilton*, p. 237.

²⁸⁹ '1. Homo non habet liberum arbitrium ad bene operandum ante Spiritum Sanctum.

2. Bona opera non faciunt bonum hominem, sed homo bonus facit bona opera': *ibid.*, p. 236. In this passage on Hamilton, from his 1554 commentary on the Psalms, Alesius does not offer any chronological consistency. It is perhaps worth considering whether these more rarified charges were not in fact connected to Hamilton's initial citation at the university, although Alesius does claim that 'Hamiltonum vivum in mea patria cremarunt propter has positiones': *ibid.* Alesius sets these charges in the context of Thomist soteriology: *ibid.*, p. 237.

related material (including sacraments and ceremonies) with monks and others in the university during his final month.²⁹⁰

Hamilton was finally summoned on heresy charges, but there is some confusion regarding what exactly these charges were. Knox offers a cursory summary:

The Articles for the which he suffered war bot of Pilgramage, Purgatorye, Prayer to Sanctes, and for the Dead, and such trifilles; albeit that materis of grettar importance had bein in questioun, as his Treatise ... may witness.²⁹¹

None of these charges is improbable, but surely the university and episcopal authorities were more concerned about Hamilton's theological variance; in any case, Foxe's more careful research does not bear these out.

Foxe offers three separate lists of charges. The first set Foxe said were taken 'from Scotland, out of the registers'; these were 'obiected against Maister Patrike Hamelton, by Iames Beton': denial of free will, denial of Purgatory, the claim that OT saints were in heaven before the death of Christ, denial of the papal power of the keys, denial of petrine succession, the pope is antichrist, all priests are equal to the pope, Hamilton was himself a bishop, vows 'of the Popes religion' (monastic) were wicked, true Christians know themselves to be in a state of grace, only those predestined are saved, those in deadly sin are 'vnfaithfull' (*i.e.*, they have no faith), God withholding his grace is responsible for sin, denial of penance, uncertainty regarding the destiny of infants who die after baptism, denial of auricular confession.²⁹² If these were a summons, they certainly addressed theological

²⁹⁰ *Ibid.* Discussions of Alesius's involvement are generally based on this later account (1554); see Durkan, 'Scottish Reformers', pp. 13-16, or John T. McNeill, 'Alexander Alesius, Scottish Lutheran (1500-1565)', *ARG* 55 (1964): 161-91 (164-65).

²⁹¹ Knox, *Works*, 1.16.

²⁹² Foxe 1583, p. 974. Durkan claims that Foxe 'justifiably gave less credit' to this list: Durkan, 'Scottish Reformers', p. 13.

concerns: all are in some way related to justification or authority, the two battlegrounds of contemporary ecclesiastical debate. But the accusations reflect attacks on current institutions, and would clearly have been sufficient to gain a conviction. Like the *Citatio*, the charges are in the words of the accuser and must be considered carefully. Thus the charges regarding God's authorship of sin or the uncertain fate of baptised infants tend to point out an assumed consequence rather than a theological tenet. The charge that Hamilton was a bishop is curious; it is difficult to say what spurred it.

A second list, the 'very Articles, for the which he suffered', came from 'learned men, which commoned and reasoned with him', and Freeman has argued persuasively that the source was probably John Winram. These are: denial of free will, justification by faith alone, man is never without sin so long as he lives, those who do not believe themselves to be in a state of grace are not Christians, good works do not make a man good, evil works do not make an evil man, faith must always be connected to hope and love.²⁹³ This list is clearly connected to Hamilton's claims in *Patrick's Places*, and is entirely theological. The connection to Luther for those who had studied to refute him would be obvious, both in terms of justification and the Christian life *simul iustus et peccator*. If indeed these were the accusations 'for the which he suffered', they reflect primarily, indeed exclusively, the concerns of the theologians.²⁹⁴ No challenge to authority or tradition is stated here, but these charges, if proven, could by 1528 have been sufficient to condemn the accused.

The final charges in Foxe come from the 'sentence' against Hamilton, which reflects both other lists and the *Citatio*: denial of free will, man is in sin so long as he lives, children are sinners 'incontinent after their baptisme', all

²⁹³ Foxe 1583, p. 974.

²⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

Christians know themselves to be in a state of grace, justification is by faith only, good works do not make a good man, faith is necessarily connected to hope and love. In the sentence, it was noted twice that these things had been 'condemned already by the Church, generall Councils, and most famous Vniuersities'.²⁹⁵ How the charges interrelate is impossible to tell, but it is instructive that the sentence, like the 'very articles', is entirely theological, and does not include the challenges to authority from the 'register'.

The charges underline Hamilton's authorship of the *Places*, and the fact that he was propounding the same ideas in sermons in Kincavil and scholarly discussions in St Andrews: his ability to discuss this material at a sermonic or academic level reflects the varied written sections of the *Places* as well. The charges focus generally on solafideism and some of its cognate teachings, and Beaton and his inquisitors focused on things which seemed most self-evidently heretical.²⁹⁶ It is clear that the archbishop and his advisors understood Hamilton better after his time in St Andrews, as the charges are more focused and coherent. However, it is surprising that the sentence, insofar as it is accurate, does not include either the challenges to authority or tradition. Were these matters upon which Hamilton was willing to compromise?²⁹⁷ It would seem safe to conclude that Hamilton did, in fact, deny Purgatory and the penitential system, along with papal authority, as these positions were now firmly linked with evangelical theology in a German setting; moreover, Alesius reports that he discussed sacraments and

²⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 974-75.

²⁹⁶ For a useful discussion of the theological background of the accusers, see Durkan, 'Scottish Reformers', pp. 14-15.

²⁹⁷ Hamilton was not absolutely consistent in the outworking of his theology in any case; he never gave up his benefice of Fearn, though absenteeism and commendation were opposed by humanists and evangelicals alike: Lorimer, *Patrick Hamilton*, p. 62. Hamilton still had the title in his sentence for heresy: Foxe 1583, p. 974.

ceremonies during his last weeks.²⁹⁸ While the purely theological concerns would have been sufficient for a conviction, the trial and execution provided a public spectacle against heresy, and it would seem strange for serious charges regarding ecclesiastical authority and practice to have been omitted. But perhaps the point of the spectacle was that the theology alone was pernicious enough to merit death by burning.²⁹⁹

C.3 The martyrdom and its aftermath

That, in any case, was the judgement against Hamilton, and its details are well-known.³⁰⁰ It is worth noting that Hamilton gave a NT to one of his friends before going to the stake.³⁰¹ Knox's famous account of the warning to burn any further heretics in 'how sellarris; for the reik of Maister Patrik Hammyltoun hes infected as many as it blew upoun' reflects his report that much questioning followed the burning, particularly at St Leonard's College.³⁰² A general unease regarding Hamilton's execution is also in evidence in John Mair's congratulatory letter to Beaton which mentions the 'ill will of many', and in a letter from the faculty at Louvain to Beaton in

²⁹⁸ Lorimer, *Patrick Hamilton*, p. 237.

²⁹⁹ On the theatrical aspects of the scaffold, see Jane E.A. Dawson, 'The Scottish Reformation and the Theatre of Martyrdom', in *Martyrs and Martyrologies*, ed Diana Wood, SCH vol. 30 (Oxford: Blackwell, 1993): 259-70. Alesius's language to describe Hamilton's execution suggests its theatrical aspect: *spectator tragoediae, scenam, histrio, actor*: Lorimer, *Patrick Hamilton*, pp. 237-38. Spottiswoode's later account added to the charges, but these additions are not particularly consistent with the earlier material: Spottiswoode, *History*, 1.124-25.

³⁰⁰ See in particular the comparison of accounts in James K. Cameron, 'John Johnstone's *An Comfortable Exhortation of Our Mooste Holy Christen Faith and Her Frutes*: An Early Example of Scots Lutheran Piety', in *Reform and Reformation: England and the Continent c 1500-1750*, ed Derek Baker, SCH.S 2 (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1979): 133-47 (pp. 138-41).

³⁰¹ '... tradidit ... librum evangeliorum cuidam familiariter noto': *ibid.*, p. 238.

³⁰² Knox, *Works*, 1.36, 42 (quotation).

April.³⁰³ The latter refers to Beaton's 'worthy deede' in punishing this 'emie to the fayth, and ... aduersary to the holy Scripture'. While Hamilton might have appeared to be 'without errour' regarding some of the charges, in fact 'they conteyne a Lutherane sense'. This was the case with the charge that good works do not make a good man; Hamilton meant that works after justification do not merit reward, which to the Louvain theologians was clearly heretical.³⁰⁴

Hamilton's overall impact varied with its context. To his home audience in Kincavil, he had offered preaching and religious discussion for some months, the lasting effect of which can be seen in the trials of his brother and sister (for whom see ch. 4). Lorimer suggested that calls for chaplains in Linlithgow to do their duty at the altar in 1529, supported by various Hamiltons, might reflect Patrick's reformist influence, but a reinforcement of anniversary masses would hardly make a fitting legacy for the solafideist preacher.³⁰⁵ Indeed, such an activity might have served to underline the fact that the family was still orthodox in the wake of their kinsman's unfortunate end.

Patrick's Places were clearly reflected in Hamilton's preaching, generally erasing any doubt that he was the author of this work; however, they were not printed until three years after his death, with an English market in mind. It is not unreasonable to assume that interested parties brought copies into Scotland, but none have survived. The literary legacy of Hamilton, therefore, lay more in England than in his homeland.

³⁰³ Major, *History*, p. 448.

³⁰⁴ Foxe 1583, p. 975. Perhaps unaware of the sensitivity of the relationship, the Louvain doctors commended the example of England, whose king was 'an other Mathias of the new law', and whose bishop of Rochester was an 'Euangelicall Phoenix': *ibid.*

³⁰⁵ Lorimer, *Patrick Hamilton*, pp. 108-109, 265.

Hamilton's greatest impact, however, appears to have been made by personal contact with other scholars.³⁰⁶ Those at St Andrews during his student days, and later during his final month, seem to have been affected deeply by his friendship and his death. Among these, as mentioned, were some Scots who would emerge in later years as evangelical leaders in their homeland and abroad. Among these, Henry Balnaves, Alexander Allane (Alesius), Alexander Seton, John Gau, and John Johnsonsone produced writings which demonstrate their commitment to the solafideism for which Hamilton was executed. Apart from Balnaves (who will be discussed in ch. 5), all these men were in exile within a few years of Hamilton's death, but their desire to promote evangelical theology in Scotland continued, resulting in four publications for a Scots audience.

D. Alesius

The career of Alexander Allane has been well-rehearsed, and his interaction with Hamilton has already been mentioned.³⁰⁷ After suffering imprisonment and violence at the hands of the Augustinian prior in St Andrews, Allane began a career in exile which would see him befriend Melanchthon (who assigned him his Greek nickname), teach at Cambridge, work for Thomas Cromwell, and take up a faculty post at the University of Leipzig. Not forgetting Scotland, however, he wrote two tracts addressed to James V in the wake of an episcopal prohibition of vernacular Bible-reading in the early 1530s.³⁰⁸ These called in non-partisan terms for the king to

³⁰⁶ As his 'theology was formulated within the context of an academic disputation[,] its immediate appeal was unlikely to extend beyond the confines of the class-room': Kirk, 'Religion', p. 371.

³⁰⁷ See McNeill, 'Alexander Alesius'; Wiedermann, 'Martin Luther' (along with his dissertation); Durkan, 'Scottish "Evangelicals"', pp. 137-39.

³⁰⁸ Alexander Alesius, *Alexandro Alesii Epistola contra decretum quoddam Episcoporu[m] in Scotia, quod prohibet legere noui Testamenti libros lingua vernacula* (n.p.: n.pub., [c. 1533]);

oppose the bishops and rather encourage his subjects to read the vernacular Bible; each was opposed with a tract by Johannes Cochlaeus.³⁰⁹ Alesius was not successful in convincing the king, but his Latin tracts may have circulated somewhat. However, they did not contain solafideist theology. Certainly a convert of the evangelical circle at St Andrews, Alesius's career is 'less important for England and Scotland than for Lutheran Germany'.³¹⁰

E. Alexander Seton

Another figure who emerged from St Andrews as an evangelical was Alexander Seton. As a Dominican, Seton would have been interested in the Hamilton trial, and perhaps because of contact with one of university evangelicals began to take seriously the new theology. According to Knox, Seton preached a course of sermons during Lent in the mid-1530s, proclaiming that Christ was the 'end and perfectioun of the law', that nothing was sin which did not violate God's law, and that satisfaction for sins is 'not in manis power, but ... by unfeaned reapentance, and by faith apprehending God the Father mercifull in Christ Jesus, his sone'.³¹¹ In the context of Lent particularly, here was the direct antagonism of solafideist theology to church practice. After criticising the bishops, Seton compeared before a bishop (presumably James Beaton), and denied having said anything of the sort – rather, he had been quoting 'Paull, Isai, Zacharie, and Malachie'. Allowed to go free because, as confessor to James V, he was well

Alexandri Alesii Scotti Responsio ad Cochlei Calumnias, 2nd edn ([Leipzig?]: [1554]) (first edition c. 1534).

³⁰⁹ Summaries of this exchange can be found in McNeill, 'Alexander Alesius', Wright, 'Commoun Buke', and *James V Letters*.

³¹⁰ Durkan, 'Scottish "Evangelicals"', p. 151.

³¹¹ Knox, *Works*, 1.45-46. Durkan claims that this shows the influence of Melancthon rather than Luther: Durkan, 'Cultural Background', pp. 306-307. This is possible, but Seton's arguments are not spelled out enough to tell.

connected, he was soon charged again, but this time James said that Seton 'smelled of the new doctrin, by such thingis as he had schawin to him under confessioun', and Seton fled to Berwick.³¹²

From Berwick, Seton wrote James to request a fair trial at the king's hands, implicitly appealing to Scripture against the charges of heresy.³¹³ However, no royal assistance was forthcoming, and Seton became chaplain to the earl of Suffolk. Naturalised in 1539, Seton 'taught the Evangell in all sinceritie', but found himself charged with heresy by a desperate Cromwell in 1540 as a result of the Six Articles. Going to Suffolk's home, Seton avoided conviction, but after preaching evangelical doctrine again in 1541, he was forced to recant.³¹⁴ Knox was forgiving in his *History*, however, noting that as God 'had rung with him in all his lyiff', so in his death within the year 'he fand the mercy of his God'.³¹⁵ Of Seton's theology, little may be said, but it is instructive that Hamilton's influence went beyond the university to the Dominican house in St Andrews.

F. John Gau

Less biographical detail is available for John Gau, who was probably the St Andrews student of the early 1510s.³¹⁶ Whether he knew Hamilton is

³¹² *Ibid.*, 1.47-48.

³¹³ *Ibid.*, 1.49.

³¹⁴ Durkan, 'Scottish "Evangelicals"', p. 141; Knox, *Works*, 1.54 (quotation).

³¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 1.55. Foxe's first edition, likewise, credited Seton with other recanters as 'yet good soldiers after in the church of Christ': cited in Susan Wabuda, 'Equivocation and Recantation During the English Reformation: The 'Subtle Shadows' of Dr Edward Crome', *JEH* 44 (1993): 224-42 (p. 239). Foxe's attitude changed after 1570, Wabuda argues, after which he gave positive reports of recanters only if they had later suffered or reversed their recantation: *ibid.* With only the first edition of the *Actes and monuments* available to him when writing Book 1 of his *History*, Knox may have followed it in being more forgiving toward recanters.

³¹⁶ See Dunlop, *Acta Sanctiandree*, 2.299, 302; Anderson, *Early Records*, 98, 100, 201, 204.

impossible to determine, but he did mention the martyr in his conclusion. The next appearance of this Scot is not until the 1530s in Copenhagen, where he would act as a chaplain until his death in 1553, though Mitchell believes him to have been in Malmö previously.³¹⁷ This is because Gau's book, *The Richt Vay to the Kingdom of Heuine*, was, according to its colophon, published there in 1533 by Hoochstraten. A translation from Christiern Pederson's *Den rette vey till Hiemmerigis Rige*, which itself borrowed heavily from Urbanus Rhegius's *Exposition of the twelve articles of the Apostles' Creed* and various pieces by Luther, this is an example of the layered recycling of texts in the early sixteenth century.³¹⁸

The *Richt Vay* is organised as a standard manual for personal devotion, commenting on the Ten Commandments, the Apostles' Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Magnificat. An introduction and conclusion show some original material from Gau, but not entirely; these too include the work of others translated into Scots. However, Gau's translation gives some internal clues about author and proposed audience. That Gau found funding for this manual, which is not small, is itself telling; perhaps various Scots in exile paid for the printing of this volume to be smuggled into their homeland. Moreover, Gau clearly anticipated a Scots audience for his translation, and not English. This audience would have been of evangelical persuasion, and probably on the east coast; the volume was designed not to persuade but to instruct. Structured around the basic law, creed, and prayer of the faith, the *Richt Vay* offered a combination of exhortation to Christian

³¹⁷ John Gau, *The Richt Vay to the Kingdom of Heuine*, ed A.F. Mitchell (Edinburgh: STS, 1888), pp. xxiii-xxiv. In-text references are to this edition. The introduction bears marked similarity to the Marshall Primer of 1534, as well as Luther's *Betbüchlein* of 1522: Martin Luther, *D. Martin Luthers Werke, kritische Gesamtausgabe* (Weimar: Hermann Böhlaus Nachfolger, 1883-), 10(2).375ff.

³¹⁸ Gau, *Richt Vay.*, pp. xx-xxi, xxxvi-xxxvii.

living and thoroughly Lutheran teaching, written for the laity. Gau probably envisioned group reading and discussion, but the volume had an individual focus. While the book included several scriptural quotations, it also cited other texts, assuming that its readers would also have access to a vernacular Bible.

The *Richt Vay* is by far the most comprehensively Lutheran volume of the St Andrews circle before Henry Balnaves's treatise of 1548. Owing to its catechetical structure, it addresses more of the implications of justification than related documents, though with less depth on the central doctrine itself. Rather than approach the text through its own structure, which does not contain an overall logical development, it will be useful to note certain Lutheran themes which emerge.

F.1 The theology of justification

Gau, like Hamilton, offers a thoroughly Lutheran definition of justification:

... we ar maid richtus quhen we belewe in ye word of grace ye va[n]gel quhilk God promist to wsz in Christ ye quhilk is forgiffine of our sin[n]is a[n]d ve inheir to hime be faith doutand notht bot his richtusnes is ouris his halines is ouris / his satisfacione is ouris / his resurrectione is ouris / schortlie notht doutand bot our sinnis ar forgiffine throw hime a[n]d we ar rasauit in ye fauoris of God (107).

This is the 'glorious exchange' of Luther's theology (*cf.* 56). The law does not lead to justification, but 'schawis to zow quhat is sine and co[n]fu[n]dis and fleis a[n]d slais zour co[n]scie[n]ce a[n]d giffis nay strinth to zou to forbeir sine' (106-107). Gau's conclusion offers a set of oppositional statements strongly reminiscent of *Patrick's Places*:

... the law schawis zou zour seiknes ye va[n]gel schawis to zow remeid ye law is ye ministracio[n]e of onrest and deid / the vangel is the ministracione of liff and pece / the law schawis to zow zour sin[n]is ye vangel schawis zow remissione (105).

This inability is based on original sin (18); if the Ten Commandments could be fulfilled, this would bring salvation, but 'it is impossibil yat man of his aune strintht or power cane lewe richt in al thingis efter the command and wil of god' (26). In fact, anyone who believes that he can be saved by works 'lichtlis ye passione of our lord Iesus Christ' (81), and works which are not commanded by God 'are to no avail, for they are man's imaginings' (25). Even the saints of the OT were saved by faith in the promised seed (35).

The faith that justifies is not earned, but a gift of God 'quhilk renewis the hart and makis ane nev man quhair be for he wes of ald adame' (31). This faith is not *assensus* but *fiducia* (26), 'noht ane licht mening or ane thocht quhilk men cane haiff of thair aune strintht or onderstanding / bot it is ane liffand thyng in the hart the quhilk renewis and purifeis it', a 'liffand traist to god' (74). In this respect, faith 'virkis throw lwiff (a[n]d cane noth be ydil) as S. Paul said in ye v c. to ye Gala. a[n]d of it cu[m]is guid varkis as guid frwit dwis of ye guid tre' (107). Faith fulfills the first commandment, and as such is the 'heid and grund of al gwid varkis'; works done without faith are sin (1, 75).

As for Luther, this answers the charge of antinomianism. Good works are 'the frwitis of the richt chrissine faith' (89), which must follow faith 'as heit procedis fra ye fyr / and the bemis fra ye sone'. Faith even 'causis wsz to lwiff ye law' (108). The only way the commandments can be fulfilled is through love (20), and thus like Luther, the *Richt Vay* expounds the Decalogue by way of positive behaviours (8-11). This is not to say that Christians are sinless after justification, for 'the ewil and sinful desir quhilk we haiff of adame is noht perfitlie deid in wsz alsz lang as we ar heir apone the zeird in the sinful flesch' (18).

Thus on the central doctrine of justification, Gau provided his readers with Luther's basic framework of original sin, law and gospel, faith as

fiducia, works as incapable of justifying, the fruits of faith, and the Christian life *simul iustus et peccator*. These teachings are not laid out in systematic fashion as in *Patrick's Places*, however; they emerge in the context of explications of the commandments, creed, and Lord's Prayer.³¹⁹ Readers or hearers were left to sort out the internal logic of the doctrine for themselves.

F.2 Scripture and the Christian household

Whether or not Gau was aware of it, the Scottish episcopate had banned reading of the vernacular Bible around 1532. Certainly, he regards those who 'contemnis or lichtlis ... or makis persecucione aganis' the word of God to be violators of the third commandment (in Luther's numbering, keep the Sabbath) (14). Likewise, in expounding 'giff vsz this day our daylie breid', he prays 'lat noht the warldlie tirannis spulze vsz' of the word of God (92). The catechetical *Richt Vay* contained 'al thing yat is neidful and requirit to onderstand to the saluation of the saul' (1, cf. 7), but while these 'principal thingis' could be found in the creed, important teachings like the eucharist could not, so 'we man forthir se and reid the halie writ and noth alanerlie thir xii articulis'. Thus, those who are 'lerit and cane reid and onderstand suld se and reid in the bibil quhilk is the grund and vol of al godlie doctrine and hewinlie visdom neidful to knaw' (27).

Householders are required to teach their 'bairnis in the chrissine faith' (12), and this before they teach them 'the gentil bwikis', for Scripture is superior to heathen philosophers, and guided by it 'now ane simpil man is wiser in the richt and godlie philosophy na wesz Aristotil cheif and prince of philosophors'. The 'gentil or natural philosophors' can lead readers to 'heresie and vanite', but once a reader is grounded in the right faith, he may read them in order that 'thairof yai ma leir latine to tech oders the richt

³¹⁹ One work curiously refers to Gau as 'Scotland's first Protestant systematic theologian': McGoldrick, *Luther's Scottish Connection*, p. 61.

philosophy the quhilk is godis word contenit in the bible' (34). While the emphasis on reading vernacular Scripture in the home certainly echoes Luther, Gau's assessment of heathen learning is rather more pessimistic. However, Luther could be particularly scathing with respect to heathen learning, particularly Aristotle, and the *Richt Vay* probably reflects such passages.

F.3 The church

Particularly noteworthy in the *Richt Vay* is the development of its basic ecclesiology, not on the specifics of church government, but on the distinction of true and false churches. To begin with, Gau offers the cosmic distinction between Luther's *zwei Reiche*, the kingdoms of God and the devil (48, cf. 93):

... ye vardil ... is ye kingdome of sine and euil and the deuil is prince thairof for he is the beginner of al sine and euil he is ane falsz desauer of al man / bot thy kingdome is the kingdome of grace and guidnes in the quhilk Iesus christus thy veilbelouit sone is prince and lord and he is the beginner of al guid and the veray wpraysor of al marcie and grace (88).

These kingdoms are reflected in the true and false churches. The true church is 'na oder thing bot al chrissine men and congregacione of sanctis quhilk ar apone the zeird', and it is not bound to any particular place (55, cf. 46, 79).³²⁰ This is the invisible church, a 'spiritual congregacione' guided by God's word and bearing fruit (57). The 'fals kirk', on the other hand, claims to be 'ane chrissine kirk', but since it holds doctrines that are not grounded in Scripture, it is marked by heresy and will be condemned (58). The true

³²⁰ This expands the ninth article of the creed, which reads here 'I trou that thair is ane halie chrissine kirk and ane communione of sanctis' – not catholic. Gau, *Richt Vay*, p. 55; cf. p. 58, which mentions this.

church can be identified by its marks, as it is 'fed with our lord Iesus Christis word and his halie sacrament' (80).

Because the church is the 'chrissine congregacione', the power of the keys, which is the forgiveness of sins, belongs to 'chrissine men' (59). The only keys which the pope or bishops have is 'to preach godis word the law and the wangel' (62). Gau refutes arguments for petrine succession: the stone upon which the church is built is faith like Peter's, and in any case the gates of hell did overcome him when he denied Christ; likewise, in Jn 20, Christ breathed the spirit on all the apostles, not just Peter (61). These positions were well-rehearsed by Luther and other anti-papalists, but Luther is represented more exactly by the fact that the 'minister of thir keys suld be chosine be ye Chrissine congregacione' (62).

Thus the *Richt Vay* offered Luther's understanding of the two kingdoms of God and the devil, and their instantiation in the visible church; Cameron suggests also the priesthood of all believers.³²¹ The true church, known by word and sacrament, would cling to right doctrine (especially justification), while the false church would go beyond Scripture in its teaching. While ministerial election was suggested, the hierarchical model of the church was not denied, thus following Luther.³²² To be sure, the pope, by offering indulgences, was guilty of 'manifest leinge and haldis ye pepil in error' (84), but still one should pray for 'thayme quhilk callis thayme bischoipis / and Prestis Mwnckis and freris that thay may onderstand thy halie word' (93).

F.4 Persecution and the state

³²¹ Cameron, 'Aspects', p. 7.

³²² See Gert Haendler, *Luther on Ministerial Office and Congregational Function*, ed Eric W. Gritsch, trans. Ruth C. Gritsch (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1981).

Luther's *zwei Regimente* are not mentioned by Gau, but some of the civic duties of Christian magistrates and citizens are spelled out. The petition for our daily bread was expanded, 'lat wsz notht liff of the sweyt and blwid of the pwir as dwis oppressours and the tirannis of this wardil', and not 'as dwis the tirannis and oppressours and theyssis and stark ydil beggers the quhilk ar blwid suppers of the pwir and eitis notht thair aune bried bot oder folkis aganis the command of God' (93). This resonates with Luther's concern for the poor and hatred of oppressive rule. Likewise, Christians should 'help thair nichtburs in thair necessite', and lend them money in need 'without okker mony or seruice or raward'; high rents and greed must be eschewed (17). Luther's opposition to usury is in evidence.

Regardless of whether the rule was 'ewil or guid', however, Christians must be obedient (22, *cf.* 14), unless rulers command 'ony thing quhilk is agane [God's] command thairto we awe na obedience to thayme na to na oder creatur'. Here Gau cites the classic proof-text, Acts 5 (23). Such obedience may bring persecution or poverty, but faith should still be placed in God (77). Indeed trials should be expected, and Luther's theology of the cross is in evidence: 'we man cum to the heuine throw suffering and be na oder vay onder ye heuine'. Suffering is sent by God to mortify the flesh, and is the lot of the Christian on earth (90). The curious 'disputacione apone the pater noster' toward the end of the *Richt Vay* should probably be read in terms of the *theologia crucis* (97-101).

F.5 Magic and the sacraments

Gau offers a brief comment on the eucharist, certainly Lutheran in its language, but not explained sufficiently to suggest to the reader any particular deviation from normal attendance at Mass. Through Scripture we know that 'the bodi and blwid of our lord Iesus christ is contenit veralie in the sacrament of the alter onder the forme of breid and vine' (27), echoing

Luther's *realiter* and *sub specie*. The eucharist encourages unity, making the participants 'ane breid and ane body'; in quoting 1 Cor. 10.17, the *Richt Vay* adds wine ('we quhilk eitis of ane breid *and drinkkiss of ane cowp*', emphasis added), surely suggesting utraquism, but not in any practical sense (58).

The eucharist is a holy ceremony, but superstitious practices should be eschewed. Normally, superstition in this type of Lutheran work is defined in terms of ecclesiastical traditions like pilgrimage and saints' cults, but here popular 'magical' beliefs are added to these abuses:

... thay yat wsis vritine letters trowand thairthrou to saiff thair liff in vater land or in batel or in ony oder neid alsua thay that wsis corsis / chrisal / murrur / bukis / vordis and special naymis and reding and coniuracione to find hwid hurdis in the zeird / and thay quhilk takis away the frwtis of thair nichtburs beistis / Thay that rwlis thair liff and warkis efter special dais and taiknis of the hewine / and traistis efter as the astronomurs and spaymen makis and vritis and spekis thair of / thay that markis or chermis thair self or thair hws or thair bairnis or seruandis or beistis / or bindis herbis or writings or ony oder thing apone thayme to saif thayme fra wolff or ony oder parel thay yat witis the dewil or ony oder creatur of thair aduersite trowand yat thay haif ony strinth or power to hurt thayme without the wil of god (12).

As the *Richt Vay* is a translation, these do not reflect Gau's particular concerns for his homeland, but they did drive a wedge between solafideist religion and popular superstition for readers of the work.

The final section on the Magnificat, however, focused on a superstition within the church. No hope should be put in Mary, but only in Christ, and 'nay man sal lowe hir oderwisz bot that schw gat that greit grace of ye guidnes of God without hir meritis' (101). Mary, like the sun, moon, and stars, should excite praise for God (102); thus the Magnificat is not a prayer, but Christians can sing with Mary 'mi saul lowis the lord' (103).

F.6 Theology of the *Richt Vay*

The theological vision of the catechetical *Richt Vay* is thoroughly Lutheran. It is not complete, and does not offer practical suggestions for church reforms or the *ius reformandi*, but it still provided more development of solafideist theology than any other Scottish works of the time. Gau clearly thought that it would be useful to evangelicals in his homeland, and he did not see the need to customise the text. How much the concluding section, ‘ane epistil to ye nobil lordis / a[n]d baro[n]s of scotla[n]d’ is Gau’s own work is impossible to tell without a full critical examination, though certainly some of the sharpest denunciations of prelates occur in this section, where Patrick Hamilton is mentioned (103-109).

Like other evangelical works in the wake of Hamilton’s death, the *Richt Vay* would have incurred the wrath of the Scottish church for holding the same understanding of salvation. But it had much more to make it unacceptable, both calling for vernacular Scripture and calling the clergy ‘blynd giders a[n]d pastors’ who are guilty of ‘ignorance’, ‘voluptuousz a[n]d flesclie liff (quhilk thay haiff of the sweit and blwid of the puir)’, and lack of preaching which has given rise to ‘sekkis’ which ‘prechis dremis and fablis’ (104). Cameron argues that ‘apart from one or two widely scattered passages there is little that is polemical’, but that the work was intended ‘to engender an atmosphere of personal evangelical piety’.³²³ But regardless of its intent, the *Richt Vay* would still have been inflammatory.

For the lay reader, the *Richt Vay* provided Lutheran explication of familiar territory, along with Scots vernacular versions of the Ten Commandments, Apostles’ Creed, and Lord’s Prayer. In addition to the key teaching of solafideism, it also suggested that much of the visible church might not be the true church, which, although it did not suggest drastic

³²³ Cameron, ‘Aspects’, p. 6.

action, would have undermined clerical authority to its audience. But as the eucharist contained the Real Presence, the visible church in its dispensation of the sacraments was an utter necessity. Evangelical religion as developed by this document would find its centre in the home, where the commandments, articles of faith, dominical prayer, and (if available) Scripture would be read and considered.

G. John Johnsone

Gau was not the only exiled Scot to send home a treatise containing Lutheran theology. Two imperfect copies survive of a 1535/6 tract entitled *An confortable exhortation: of oure mooste holy Christen faith / and her frutes Writte[n] (vnto the Christe[n] bretherne in Scotla[n]de) after the poore worde of God*.³²⁴ The author, John Johnsone, offers few details of his identity: he is 'an humile professor of holy diuinite' (not in an academic sense), he witnessed Hamilton's death, and he was evidently a Scot.³²⁵ It seems entirely reasonable to identify him with one of the John Johnstones enrolled at St Andrews in the 1520s.³²⁶ The only other thing that may be said with confidence about Johnsone is that he was out of the country at the time of writing; he states in his introductory remarks:

The good that i mo do vnto you / i wil not prolonge [= delay] / when i am present
with you / i wil exhort you by worde (yee by the worde of God) as my deare

³²⁴ The colophon states 'At Parishe / by me Peter congeth', but STC suggests that the text was printed in Antwerp by Hoochstraten. The date given in the colophon is 'A.M.D.xxxv. xx.Januarii'. Hereafter CE. 'Poore' should be read 'pure'.

³²⁵ Cameron, 'John Johnsone', pp. 137-38.

³²⁶ Cameron suggested this with appropriate reserve in *ibid.*, p. 141. See Dunlop, *Acta Sanctiandree*, 2.357, 361; Anderson, *Early Records*, 120, 123, 219, 221.

bretherne in the lorde. When i am absent by writtinge vnto a prosperous iorney (by the will of God) fortune me to come vnto you.³²⁷

The latter sentence quoted Rom. 1.10, but Johnsone occasionally used autobiographical quotations to refer to himself. (The self-conscious use of autobiographical statements may be seen in a quotation from 2 Pt. 1.14, in which Johnsone claims with the apostle that he will soon 'put of this my tabernacle' – but omits 'even as oure lorde Jesus Christ hath shewed me'.³²⁸) Moreover, Johnsone appears to have preached in his homeland before his departure; he refers to 'my writtinge and sayenge both present and absent'.³²⁹

Given the identity of the author, it comes as a surprise that the text itself is not written in Scots, but rather in a hybrid of Scots and Tyndale's English.³³⁰ Various explanations have been offered for this linguistic anomaly: Cameron suggests that Johnsone's language might have had an eye to the English market, or, like Knox, been the result of simple assimilation from living among English speakers abroad; Haas suggested that Johnsone might have been an English student at St Andrews, or that he might have given his eyewitness account of the burning of Hamilton to an Englishman who then compiled the treatise and changed the language.³³¹ While Cameron's suggestions are more plausible than Haas's, a simpler

³²⁷ CE, fol. [A3r]. *Prolong* in the sense of *delay* is cited in Robinson, *CSD* as occurring in Scots from the late 15th century. Cf. also fol. [F7r], where Johnsone quotes Col. 2.5, 'For though I be absent in the fleshe: yet am I present with you in the sprite'.

³²⁸ CE, fol. [A2v]. The additional quotation and all subsequent comparison is taken from W.R. Cooper, ed., *The New Testament, Translated by Wiliam Tyndale: The text of the Worms edition of 1526 in original spelling* (London: The British Library, 2000), as referenced.

³²⁹ CE, fol. [A3r].

³³⁰ Cameron, 'John Johnsone', pp. 141-42. Haas called the language 'nordenglisch', but without explanation: Haas, *Lambert*, p. 131.

³³¹ Cameron, 'John Johnsone', p. 142; Haas, *Lambert*, p. 131.

explanation still may be that the author did not oversee the printing of his work himself, and that some spelling changes were made by the printer or his associates.

The printer was Hoochstraten, and the place of printing either Antwerp or Malmö.³³² Hoochstraten's former connection to Gau may have played a part in his undertaking of this second Scottish work. The colophon, which presents a false printer and place of publication, states that the work was printed on 20 Jan. 1535/6. Cameron, surveying the NT quotations in the text, found that Johnsonsone relied on the 1526 Tyndale NT rather than the 1534-35 revisions, and so suggested that the work might in fact have been produced prior to 1535, when presumably the author would have opted for an updated NT. Moreover, the author refers to the 'harde herted' who rejected Christ as being a 'fearfull ensample of his wrath and cruell vengeance ... vnto all the worlde nowe almost fyftene hu[n]dred yeres'; thus Cameron suggested an actual imprint sometime during 1530-33.³³³ The latter evidence cannot be considered decisive since it does not, *pace* Cameron, refer specifically to the death of Christ. Moreover, it is entirely possible that the work was composed some time before it was printed.

Textual sources present clearer evidence for the date of the work. While Johnsonsone used the 1526 Tyndale NT (or one of the pirated reprints that appeared before 1534), this does not demonstrate that he was writing before 1534; he may not immediately have gotten access to the revised NT, and in any case the revisions are rarely dramatic, so Johnsonsone might not have felt any need to use the 1534 edition even if he had access to it.³³⁴ In fact, the NT

³³² So STC. Haas suggests that the work may have been executed by Michael Hoochstraten, *ibid.*, p. 131.

³³³ CE, fol. [E7v]; Cameron, 'John Johnsonsone', p. 137.

³³⁴ That Johnsonsone did not depend upon the revised Tyndale NT may be demonstrated from a number of passages; for one example, in quoting Gal. 5.20, Johnsonsone's 'parterakinges'

quotations, arranged under headings such as 'Of faith', or 'Of vnfaithfulnes', seem to have been selected by the author for a commonplace book or from a similar source prior to the composition of the treatise, which leaves the *terminus ad quem* open. Another source for Johnsonsone was George Joye's translation of Isaiah, which was published in 1531, which pushes the *terminus a quo* forward.³³⁵ Johnsonsone's quotations from the Psalms offer a final clue to the date of the work. The earliest English Psalters, translated by Joye from Martin Bucer, were not Johnsonsone's source; rather, he followed a form of the Coverdale (non-metrical) Psalms.³³⁶ While very similar to the Coverdale translations, Johnsonsone's quotations differ slightly. Whether these were modified by the author from the 1535 'Campensis' Psalter, the 1535 Coverdale Bible or its reprints, or were lifted from some other source, they demand a *terminus a quo* not prior to 1535, thus supporting the date offered in the colophon.³³⁷

follows the 1526 'parte takynges' rather than the 1534 'sects': CE fol. B1v. George Joye's NTs, which follow the 1526 Tyndale text closely, are not Johnsonsone's source, as may be shown from a quotation from Heb. 11.35: Johnsonsone's 'y[a]t they myght receaue a better resurrectio[n]' follows Tyndale rather than Joye's 'rather the better lyfe' – a reflection of the debate between the two translators on this point: CE, fol. [A7v]; Joye's NTs, which read the same on this passage, were published in 1534 and 1535, STC numbers 2825 and 2827.

³³⁵ *The Prophete Isaye / translated into Englysshe*, trans. George Joye ([Antwerp]: [M. de Keyser], 1531). Cameron did not mention this source in his article; he planned a critical edition, but this has not appeared: Cameron, 'John Johnsonsone', p. 137 n. 28.

³³⁶ Johnsonsone differs widely from Joye's *The psalter of Dauid in Englishe ... aftir ... ffeline [Bucer]* (Antwerp: de Keyser, 1530), and *Dauids psalter, diligently and faithfully translated* (Antwerp: Emperowr, 1534).

³³⁷ Extensive searching has not enabled me to find the precise source for these quotations, unless Johnsonsone was transcribing inexactly – which, given his usual practice, would come as something of a surprise. Coverdale's translations of the Psalms appeared in many locations, from the 1535 *A Paraphrasis vpon al the Psalmes of Dauid, made by Johannes Ca[m]pensis* (Antwerp: Widow of Endhoven, 1535) and its second edition (London: Thomas Gybson, 1539), to the 1535 Bible and its reprints of 1537 by Nicolson, to the Great Bible.

The bulk of Johnstone's treatise is biblical quotation: 'Johnstone goes to great lengths weaving texts and larger passages of scripture together to press home his teaching', says Cameron.³³⁸ Johnstone himself establishes this policy, noting that in his writing 'ye shal not fynde the worde of man / but the very true worde of God'.³³⁹ The quotations, some quite lengthy, are taken almost always verbatim from their sources; even the spelling shows great similarity. The NT quotations are widely distributed, and the treatise reads something like a commonplace book, as they appear under different headings. The OT quotations are almost entirely from the Psalms and Isaiah, the latter filling several pages. Many excerpts from the prophet are cited without intervening comment by the author, and follow the order of the book. On fols [C4r]-[C6r], for example, quotations from Is. 27, 38, 40, 41, 42, 43, 51, and 54 appear in order without any comment from Johnstone. Some quotations of OT material are taken from passages in the NT in which they appear, such as Johnstone's citation from Jer. 31, which is in fact taken from the 1526 NT's Heb. 8 (fol. [C4r]). Others, such as the quotation from Deut. 6 on fol. [C8r], do not match contemporary translations of the OT or its NT citation (Mk 12.29), and may have been taken from another secondary source.

Johnstone's work was by no means unique in its presentation of large amounts of biblical material related to a central theme; for example, a similar project, *The fou[n]tayne or well of lyfe / out of whiche doth springe most swete co[n]solatio[n]s / right necessary for troubled co[n]sciences / to thentent y[a]t they shall nat despeyre in aduersitie and trouble* was published around 1534 by Thomas Godfray in London. Unlike Johnstone's *CE*, *The fou[n]tayne* includes almost no editorial comment apart from the introduction, but it does contain

³³⁸ Cameron, 'John Johnstone', p. 143.

³³⁹ *CE*, fol. [A3r].

organizational subheadings and precise marginal references. Like the *CE*, the central theme of *The fou[n]tayne* is persecution; both editors must have anticipated a readership facing hardships, whether governmental, ecclesiastical, or social.

Nor was the *CE*'s message of perseverance in adversity uniquely evangelical. The language often bears comparison to late-medieval devotional literature, particularly in this case Book 2 of the *Imitation of Christ*. The message that Christians are sojourners in a hostile world, suffering like Christ himself, and looking toward heavenly rewards, appealed to the followers of Patrick Hamilton and the Brethren of the Common Life alike. The context, of course, differed sharply, particularly regarding the identity of the persecutor and the nature of the suffering, righteous life. Rather than in an inner battle between worldly temptation and devotion to Christ, the *CE* set the message of perseverance in an external battle between antichristian oppressors and constancy of faith. Nevertheless, the message remained familiar, and provided Johnstone and his audience a bridge between late-medieval and early evangelical devotion.

In its theological grounding and in its practical advice, Johnstone's message of hope for the persecuted shows the influence of Luther, an influence probably channeled through Hamilton's preaching and perhaps his writing. The themes of the work, similar in many respects to those in Gau and Nisbet, show an 'unmistakable' dependence upon Luther.³⁴⁰ These include such familiar Lutheran territory as faith and its fruits, the evils of unbelief, the theology of the cross, and an understanding of the Christian as *simul iustus et peccator*.³⁴¹

G.1 Faith and works

³⁴⁰ Cameron, 'John Johnstone', p. 143.

³⁴¹ A good resumé of the topics may be found in *ibid.*, pp. 142-46.

Johnsone's first chapter-title is 'Of faith', and it establishes the solafideism of the work from the outset. A defense against the wicked and the Devil, faith is the 'very rocke where on the chirch is bildeth'.³⁴² Johnsone cites the metaphor of a building from Eph. 2, and of the heavenly city of Jerusalem ('the chirch of almighty God') from Rev. 21, noting that the foundation of precious stones represents 'all kynde of good workes precious & acceptable vnto God / for faith cannot be ydel / bot worketh thorowe lowe'.³⁴³ That Johnsone began this first chapter with the church reveals a difference from Tyndale, who throughout his NT had eschewed the word *church* in favour of *congregation*. Moreover, in his Romans Preface, Tyndale introduced the subject of faith with regard to the individual; Johnsone remained, perhaps, more optimistic about institutional reform than the translator upon whom he relied.

Nevertheless faith, for Johnsone, does transform the individual in standard Lutheran terms: like a good tree, a good person brings forth good fruit, and this goodness comes from love, which in turn comes from the Holy Spirit, who is brought by faith. Faith is a 'sure confidence (or trust) in the promes of God', aligning Johnsone with Luther's preference for *fiducia* rather than *assensus* (CE, fol. [A8r]). It is also 'by faith ve are iustifieth [*sic*] / and made righteous before God' ([A4v]). Quotations from Rom. 3-4 and 9-10, Gal. 3, and a citation of Abraham's faith establish the point, offering Johnsone's readers the textual basis for solafideist theology even if they did not have access to a NT.

³⁴² CE, fols [A3v-A4r]. Johnsone referred to the 'fyrie dartes of ye wicked' rather than of the Devil; although he would go on to mention the Devil, this modification of Eph. 6.16 may indicate that he already had in mind the persecutors of his readers.

³⁴³ *Ibid.*, fol. [A4r]. Rev. 21 is mis-cited in the margin as 'Apo. xxvi'.

Johnsone saw the need to address the (by now) old chestnut of faith that justifies being an encouragement to sin. Faith that pleases God

is not fayned faith / nether deed faith / nether infruteful faith / which taketh name
after ye opinio[n] of me[n] / but it is perfect faith / quykke lyuinge faith / which
worketh ye pleasure of God / fro[m] ye herte of poore [= pure] lowe ([A7v-A8r]).

It cannot be had by any but 'ye sanctes of God', nor can one with such faith 'consent to do any thinge agaynst ye lawe of God'. The reason for such behavior resonates strongly with the message of the Romans Preface:

for his herte is so vppe lyfted thorowe lowe / y[a]t he foryettes his awne profit and
pleasure / and continually seketh the pleasure of God / a[n]d the profit of his
brethre[n] ([A8r]).

Such heart-changing faith is not, however, a human accomplishment; it is 'an supernaturall gyfte geuen vnto man frely by god' (B1r).³⁴⁴

The heartfelt love for God wrought by faith is not a response to 'the deades of lowe whiche he hath shewed vnto vs', but rather 'for the goodnes: graciousnes / a[n]d mercifulnes of hym sylfe'. God's love is not 'made perfect by soche workes: for it is and was in hym sylfe before the workes' ([C8v], from the section 'Of lowe'). God is 'so lowe worthy / that it is vnpossible to knowe hym and not to lowe hym', and thus faith cannot exist without love any more than fire without heat (D1r). Johnsone shows his awareness of the law/gospel dialectic by noting that to one who loves God, 'nether is his lawe heuy to soche a man', but is 'an easy yoke / and an light burdyng thorowe lowe' ([D2v]). Nevertheless, the one who has been made righteous is still a sinner, for 'soche perfection haue we not / nor yet mo

³⁴⁴ The similarity to Tyndale's development of solafideism in the Romans Preface is developed further by Johnsone's references to the operation of the Holy Spirit in sanctification: 'by the power of his holy sprite / ... spryngeth very lowe from the herte': *ibid.*, fol. [D2r].

haue that synne shalbe clene raken oute of vs / so longe as we are in this corruptible body' ([D2r]). (Johnsone returns to this theme in his final section, 'Of the mortification of the fleshe', e.g. F1r.)

This familiar Lutheran development of faith Johnsone contrasts with unfaithfulness, 'the mother of all wice [an]d synne'. Unfaithfulness exhibits itself in wicked deeds, just as an evil tree brings forth evil fruit; Johnsone offers the list of sins from Gal. 5.19-21 for illustration, then a lengthy series of NT citations warning against evil behaviour (B1v). In this section, however, Johnsone avoids contemporary reference or editorial comment; in many respects, his comments on unbelief would have been unobjectionable to any audience.

G.2 Faith in persecution

Johnsone applies his discussion of faith to the trials of his readers in sections entitled 'Of peace' and 'Of pacience'. Peace arises from the faith that makes one righteous:

for faith maketh hym sure / that his synnes are forgeuen hym / and that he is in
Gods faueours. Wherefore the dredoure / the trouble & inquyetnes / whiche he had
before of his synnes is awaye' ([C7r]).

This message is necessary in 'theyr euyl and peralouse dayes', in which the 'saynctes of God' face 'persecutio[n] a[n]d trouble' ([D2v-D3r]). As the fruit of love and faith, patience accepts whatever adversity God sends without complaint ('Beholde Job', says a marginal note). Suffering comes inevitably to the Christian, sometimes as God's scourge (Johnsone quotes Heb. 12.5-11 in support), even to such greats as Abel, Joseph, David, the prophets, and Tobit ([D4r-D5v]). Such scourging is not punishment for sin, but a test of faith and a demonstration that God alone can bring true blessing:

Yf God promyse riches: ye waye therto is powerte. Who[m] he loweth hym he
chasteset / whom he exaltet / he casteth downe / whom he saueth he da[m]neth

fyrst. He bringeth no man to heuen excepte he sende hym to hell first. Yf he
 promise lyfe he sleyeth first: when he byldeth / he casteth all downe fyrst. He is no
 yatcher / he can not bylde on a nother mans foundacion. He will not worke vntyll
 all be past remedy and brought vnto soch a case / that men may se how that his
 ha[n]de / his power / his mercy: his goodnes a[n]d trueth hath wrought all to
 gether. He will let no man be partetaker with him of his prayse a[n]d glorie ([D5r]).

God's working is thus 'contrary vnto mans workes', but his goodness is
 shown in that he 'delyuered his awne sonne / his only sonne / his dere
 sonne vnto the deeth' on behalf of his enemies; he thus 'ouercome[s] them
 with well doinge' ([D5r]).

Examples of those who have suffered after receiving a promise
 include Joseph, the Israelites, David, and supremely Christ himself, who
 although greater in 'holynes and righteuesnes' than anyone, likewise
 suffered more than all others ([D5v-D6r]). Johnsonsone quotes Isaiah 53.2-12 to
 illustrate, and enjoins his readers to 'folowe manfullye youre blessed lorde
 vnto the batayl' – showing, as Cameron said, 'how deeply the author had
 imbibed Luther's 'Theology of the Cross'' ([D6v-D7v] for Isaiah, [D7v] for
 quotation).³⁴⁵ 'Desyre not to be spared', enjoins Johnsonsone, since God did not
 spare his own son; '[w]e are called to dye with Christ: ... [w]e are called vnto
 a kingdome / that must be wonne with suffering only' ([D8r-D8v]). God
 fights for the kingdom, while we only need suffer. Quotations from the
 Gospels fill this section, followed by Johnsonsone's description of the patience of
 Patrick Hamilton, 'whom God apoynted to suffre for his name' (E1v).³⁴⁶

The converse of the theology of the cross is 'bely wisdome', which
 prefers worldly pleasure to tribulation with Christ. However, such
 'prosperite is a ryght curse' which will lead to condemnation. Hypocrites

³⁴⁵ Cameron, 'John Johnsonsone', p. 145.

³⁴⁶ Cameron discusses details of this account, comparing to others, *ibid.*, pp. 138-41.

with their 'worldly preachynge' do not realize that suffering is a gift for which the apostles rejoiced ([E2v-E3r]). A person's strength is inversely proportional to Christ's strength in him or her, and thus Christians should seek to be 'clene emptied of oure awne strength' ([E3v]).

Johnsone's lengthy discussion of suffering concludes with encouragement for his readers. Those whom God chooses he seals with the Holy Spirit, and 'powreth strength into his herte to suffre afflictions also with Christ for beri[n]ge of vitnes vnto ye trueth'. This 'power ... to suffre for Gods worde' distinguishes them from the children of the devil and leads them toward everlasting life ([E4r]). Passages from the gospels speaking of the woes of the rich, including the story of Lazarus and Dives, are quoted in this context; by contrast, 'there is no nother waye into ye kyngdome of heue[n] / then thorowe perseuctio[n] and sufferige of payne and very deeth: after the ensa[m]ple of Christ'. The 'tyrauntes and persecuters' who act as God's rod of chastisement cannot act but as he wills; should they try to persecute further, 'he putteth them out of the waye accordynge vnto the comfortable ensamples of the holy scripture' ([E5v-E6r]). To this encouragement Johnsone adds passages which expound the proximity of God to his suffering children, and others which foretell the demise of those who cause this suffering.

Johnsone leaves no doubt that his intended audience was in fact undergoing persecution. After narrating the constancy of Patrick Hamilton, he notes that the persecutors' 'hongre is not slokned / but they abyde for theyr praye watchynge as raweninge wolues / yf they mo se any of Christes poore shepe to deuoure' ([E2v]). Of particular interest in this context is Johnsone's reassurance to those might have recanted under pressure:

Also yf any man clene agenst his herte: but ouercome with the weaknes of the flesshe for feare of persecution: haue denied as did Peter / or haue delyuered his

boke to the tyrauntes or put it away secretlye ¶ Let hym (yf he repente) come
 agayne and take better holde and not dispare or take it for a signe that God hath
 forsaken hym. For God oft tymes taketh his strength eue[n] from his very electe:
 when they ether trust in theyr awne strength or are negligente to call to hym for his
 strength ([E8r]).

That fear would lead the persecuted to hand over or put away their ‘boke’
 – surely the vernacular NT or Bible – gives more reason to believe that the
 episcopal decree against translated scripture was being enforced. Moreover,
 Johnsonsone clearly expected some of his readers to be guilty of recantation, and
 his reassurance demonstrates his compassion for those facing the extreme
 stress of persecution.

Johnsone’s stern warnings for the persecutors of the godly have
 already been seen. Although he generally avoids contemporary reference,
 Johnsonsone makes reference in his narrative of Patrick Hamilton to the bishops:

shall it at ye last helpe the worldly bisshoppes and theyr disciples / to murthre
 a[n]d burne youre men childerne whiche manfully co[n]fesse that Jesus is the lorde:
 and that theyr is no nother name geuen vnto men to be saued by & c. (E1v-[E2r]).

Further references to ‘raweninge wolues’, ‘worldly preachynge’, and
 ‘tyrauntes’ would seem, *pace* Cameron, to demonstrate Johnsonsone’s real
 hostility toward the Scottish ecclesiastical hierarchy.³⁴⁷ However, his
 vagueness in this respect was probably intended as a safeguard against
 accusation, should the need arise.

G.3 Abuses and the lack of faith

³⁴⁷ Cameron referred to the work as ‘strikingly moderate and devoid of polemical
 bitterness’; ‘[o]nly rarely is there mention of priests or ecclesiastical authority’: *ibid.*, p. 147.
 Cameron’s point has merit, for indeed Johnsonsone is no polemicist, but the work cannot be
 described in such eirenic terms when all the evidence is marshalled.

Certain ecclesiastical practices come in for criticism in Johnson's final section, 'Of the mortification of the fleshe'. The crucifying of the flesh and its appetites (Gal. 5.24) cannot be accomplished 'thorowe oure awne strength / and laboure / as preache the false preachers' – Johnson here echoes Luther's initial criticisms of the church based on his 'evangelical breakthrough' ([F4v]). Some customary forms of devotion may assist the believer in mortifying the flesh, such as fasting, though it must no longer be 'folowinge (or rather ledde) after the tradicions of men'; rather, it must be a more continual fast, resulting in restraint from excessive eating, drinking, or sleeping ([F5v-F6r]). Johnson urges his readers to err on the side of abstinence, in any case ([F6r]). Other ecclesiastical regulations are in fact manifestations of 'erroure / and deuylshe doctrine ... lyes thorowe ypocrisy ... consciences marked with an hett yerne [iron]', such as 'forbiddynge to mary / and co[m]maundyng to absteyne from meates' ([F6v]). To Johnson, clerical celibacy and abstention from meat were attempts to earn salvation, and thus ran counter to scripture; they were not legitimate ways to mortify the flesh 'by the holy goost' ([F6v]).

Johnson was not therefore a critic of the foibles of the clergy, but of certain religious practices which ran counter to his theology. Less sharp than most anticlerical literature, his work nevertheless reveals a deep fault line between a follower of Patrick Hamilton and the Scottish ecclesiastical hierarchy. Johnson wants to guard his readers from false preachers, to establish their understanding of justification, and to provide them with a useful handbook of scriptural material, but he does not comment on the papacy, the sacraments, or the nature of the true church (apart from its foundation on faith). Nor, as Cameron states, does he 'encourage readers to iconoclasm, or any form of opposition other than passive resistance to persecution'. To Cameron, this meant that in the *CE*

[t]here is, consequently, nothing of the political and doctrinal struggles that had begun to embitter religious life on the continent, nothing of the theological debates and differences that had begun to divide catholic and protestant, Lutheran and reformed.³⁴⁸

But the clear solafideist teaching of the work, which Cameron discussed, aligned it with the bitter debates that had cost Hamilton his life. Although the work is not thoroughly Protestant, its evangelical theology alone rendered it inflammatory. Although its focus is constancy rather than controversy, its advocacy of – and provision for – reading of the vernacular scripture set it in direct opposition to the episcopal ban of the same. The *CE* cannot be considered eirenic; indeed, it must have been a dangerous book to own in the mid-30s. That said, it did not call its readers to shun the Mass, to break images, or to defy priests. Its simple message may not have been a call to arms, but it did ask its readers to count the cost of discipleship (Lk. 14.28: E1r).

The *CE* provided its readers with a sense of the importance of scripture simply by providing them with copious passages from it. Clearly, the author considers scripture the proper authority for matters of the faith. Johnsonsone quotes exactly with few exceptions, showing his regard for the text.³⁴⁹ He wishes it to be clear that the theology of justification he espouses comes from scripture: 'Be their & many other Textes is declared: oure iustifcatio[n] only to be ascribeth to faith' ([A6v-A7r]). Likewise, it is scripture that offers consolation to the persecuted. '[L]et vs', says Johnsonsone, 'arme oure soules with the conforte of the scriptures' ([E5v]). The Spirit

³⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁴⁹ Quotations from the Psalms are problematic, as mentioned. One of the rare additions to a passage occurs in a citation of Rom. 16.17, 'contrary to the doctrine which ye haue leaned'; Johnsonsone adds, though parenthetically, '(of the oyntment which ye haue of the holy goost)': *CE*, fol. [B3v].

must help the reader comprehend the scripture. '[O]f ... consolation are the psalmes full / the lorde open youre hertes / to reade them and vnderstonde them perfectly in the sprite' ([E6v]). (Here and elsewhere, Johnsone appears to assume that his readers will at some stage have access to vernacular testaments or Bibles.) A comfort and guide to the godly, scripture is hated by the persecutors, who 'despice Gods worde: countinge it as a phantasy or a dreame' ([E7r]). Those who suffer under them suffer 'for the trueth sake' ([D4r]). The persecutors likewise hold to 'the learninge of men whiche the holy scripture do not knowe' ([F6v]).

The impact of Johnsone's work on his homeland cannot be measured. The absence of mention by Knox, as in other cases, does not necessarily consign the work to unimportance or obscurity; nor does the rarity of extant copies give an accurate indication of the book's spread. On the other hand, the perils of a sixteenth century religious treatise were legion, and it is possible that few copies reached their intended audience. Those which succeeded provided their readers with a brief précis of the same theology that Hamilton had taught, an account of his constancy at the stake, and a collection of important biblical material.³⁵⁰

H. The St Andrews evangelicals and their legacy

The doctrines of salvation were, without question, a topic of intense debate at St Andrews University in the 1520s, guided by similar debates at Paris, where leading faculty members like Mair had spent time, and by polemical tracts by John Fisher and others. Although the intention of the university was to defend the received position against Luther, some students found themselves so drawn to solafideist theology that they began to defend it, leading to exile for some, and death for Patrick Hamilton. Most of these students were forced to leave the country, but some who were attached to

³⁵⁰ Haas offers a brief comparison of Hamilton and Johnsone, Haas, *Lambert*, pp. 131-32.

the university stayed on, like John Winram or Henry Balnaves. Those who stayed were driven underground by the burning of Hamilton, which kept them from being detected for some time. Among those who left, there was still concern to spread their teaching at home, and thus Alesius wrote to the king and Johnstone and Gau to their evangelical brethren.

Given such a situation, any quantification of the influence of the St Andrews evangelicals is impossible. Certainly solafideist doctrine continued its gradual spread, and the tenacity of those who professed it was strengthened, but these are not measurable quantities. What can be said is that the tracts by Johnstone and Gau addressed evangelicals whom the authors considered in need of grounding in the nature and implications of justification by faith, and who felt persecuted. Undoubtedly they read portions of the Bible, whether illicit Tyndale NTs, or the quotations they found in whatever tracts they could obtain, and they were encouraged by the St Andrews evangelicals to do so. While a literate evangelical could pursue this text-centred devotion privately, there is good reason to believe that the evangelical experience was corporate; but in spite of some understanding of a true and false church, the St Andrews students did not advocate any separation from the visible church, nor unorthodox sacramental practice.

The burning of Hamilton was seared into the minds of his friends, and they made explicit the comfort of justification by faith to their readers, who might have been facing similar fates: persecution for this doctrine was from the devil, and should serve to strengthen rather than destroy resolve, for it was a sharing in the sufferings of Christ which had provided salvation in the first place. Hamilton, Johnstone, and Gau were scholars, but in no sense did they see their doctrine as being relevant only to theologians: it was vital in the midst of troubled times.

Chapter four: Evangelical books and heresy trials

The Lollard circle on the west coast was discovering and adopting solafideist theology, but it was highly localised; the St Andrews evangelicals were either dead or in exile by the mid-1530s, but their books may have found a wider circulation. Neither of these phenomena, however, can fully account for the appearance of evangelical theology in burghs and localities spread across the country. This seems to be the result of lay people reading prohibited books, and discussing them together; occasional preachers appeared to spread and reinforce such teachings, but generally these were accused quickly. An examination of the availability of books, preaching, and heresy trials will give some indication of how evangelicalism spread in Scotland, though the constraints of limited evidence prohibit sweeping conclusions.

A. Books and the spread of evangelical doctrine

A.1 The vernacular New Testament

Without question, the most important book in the formation of evangelical piety was the NT.³⁵¹ Manuscript copies of the vernacular NT had enjoyed secretive influence in Lollard conventicles of the early sixteenth century, but printed English translations had far greater scope, being quicker to produce, easier to transport, and – probably even for Scots speakers – closer to the spoken language of the time. The first shipment of NTs to Scotland alone would have multiplied the number of vernacular copies in the country many times over. This shipment was made remarkably soon after the printing of the first complete English NT in 1526. Sir John Hackett, the English ambassador to the court of Margaret of Austria, reported to Cardinal Wolsey from Mechelen on 20 Feb. 1526/7 that

³⁵¹ Cf. McGoldrick, *Luther's Scottish Connection*, p. 33.

there [were] dyvers marchandes off Scotland that bought many off syche lyke bookes [and sent] them in to Scotland, a party to Edenbowrghe and the most party to the tow[ne of] Sent Androys, ffor the whyche cawse when I was att Barro beyng au[ised] the Skottyshe shypers were in Seland, thare the sayd bookes were lady[ng I went] sodenly thedyrwarde [=thitherward], thynkyng yff that I had fownd syche stuffe th[ere] I wold cawse to make as good a fyer off them as there has bene off the remenaunt in Brabant, but fortune wold nott that I shoyld [com in] tyme, ffor the forsayd shypes were departyd a day afore my cumy[ng], so I mvst atakyn pacience for all my labowre....'³⁵²

Of the number or the fate of these books, nothing else is known.

The copies which arrived in the country had to be kept in secret, for although the vernacular NT was not prohibited by Parliament in its acts against heretical literature in 1525 and 1535, the possession of the NT had been grounds for burning in the heresy trial of Henry Forrest as early as 1532, according to Knox.³⁵³ Ecclesiastical injunctions clearly prohibited its use. Forrest's trial was probably connected to an episcopal prohibition on reading the vernacular Bible c. 1532.³⁵⁴ Alesius, protesting the decree from the continent, summed up this decree simply 'That no one should read the New Testament in the vernacular tongue', and Knox seems to be referring to the same episcopal legislation when he reports 'That under pane of heresye, no man should reade any parte of the Scriptures in the Engliss tounge, nether

³⁵² Elizabeth Frances Rogers, ed., *The Letters of Sir John Hackett 1526-1534*, Archives of British History and Culture vols 1-2 (Morgantown: West Virginia University Press, 1971), p. 73.

³⁵³ APS 2.294 no. 4 (1525, 1527), 2.341-2 no. 2 (1535); in 1540 discussion, but not possession of the NT, was prohibited: 2.370 no. 5 (1540). Forrest was probably burned in the early 1530s; Laing places the event in 1532 owing to a reference to heretics in that year in the Treasurer's Accounts: Knox, *Works*, 1.52-3 and n. 3.

³⁵⁴ This date is based upon the date of Cochlaeus's first response to Alesius's protest, 1533. The legislation might have been passed earlier.

yitt any tractat or expositioun of any place of Scripture'.³⁵⁵ Almost fifty years later, the prefatory epistle to James VI in the 'Bassendyne Bible' (the first printed in Scotland) recalled a time

... quhen the false namit clergie of this realme abusing the gentle nature of zour
Hienes maist noble Gadshir of worthie memorie made it an capital crime to be
punishit with the fyre to haue or rede the new testament in the vulgare language.³⁵⁶

The reason for the focus on the NT rather than the entire Bible was that, as yet, only small portions of the OT had been published in English.

But these reports may overstate the bluntness of the 1532 decree. Cochlaeus, in his second refutation of Alesius (1534), claimed that the decree was less strident: 'that at this time in Scotland [*apud vos*] the New Testament may not be read in the vernacular tongue at home by laypeople'.³⁵⁷ Citing

³⁵⁵ 'Ne quis legat in patria lingua libros noui testamenti': Alesius, *Epistola*, [A2v]; Knox, *Works*, 1.98. Quoting this as background information concerning the Parliament of March 1543, Knox appears at first sight to be referring to a previous Act of Parliament, but no such decree can be found. As Knox states that the item he quotes was 'made befor, at devotioun of the Prelattis', it is entirely possible that he is referring to the episcopal decree of 1532. Laing assumed that Knox was referring to an Act of 1541, but this Act only prohibited discussion: *ibid.*, 1.98 n. 7; APS 2.370 (1541 Act). When Parliament legalised the vernacular Bible in 1543, it was noted that 'thair was na law schewin nor producit in the contrare' and that discussion was still prohibited in conjunction with 'the forsaidis actis of parliament': *ibid.*, 2.415. Thus Parliament can hardly have legislated so clearly beforehand.

³⁵⁶ *The Bible and Holy Scripture contened in the olde and newe testament* [Geneva version] (Edinburgh: Thomas Bassendyne, 1576 [NT] and Alexander Arbuthnot, 1579 [OT]), fol. ^iir. Presumably this was written by Arbuthnot. The passage continues, 'zea, and to make them to al men more odius as gif it had bene the detestable name of a pernicious secte, they were named new testamentares': *ibid.* This prohibition was alluded to by Henry Balnaves in a 1548 tract as well: Knox, *Works*, 3.533, 538-39.

³⁵⁷ '... ne hoc tempore in vernacula lingua legatur apud vos domi Nouum Testamentum à laicis': Johannes Cochlaeus, *Pro Scotiae Regno Apologia Iohannis Cochlei, Adversus Personatum Alexandrum Alesium Scotum, Ad Sereniss. Scotorum rege[m]* (Leipzig: Michael Blum, 1534), fol. [A2v]. Repr. in *Johannis Cochlaei Opuscula* (Farnborough: Gregg, 1968).

Luke 10.16 ('whoever hears you, hears me'), Cochlaeus claims that the appropriate hearing of Christ is 'from the mouth of the priests'. Pious, Catholic citizens are content with this, as opposed to

those who, neglecting and despising the preaching of the Church, refusing to listen, read [Scripture] in the vernacular at home, which they cannot soundly understand without a teacher, against God's regulation, by which they are commanded to seek the law from the mouth of a priest.³⁵⁸

Alesius, according to his opponent, had offered an inaccurate portrayal of the decree:

Do not, I pray, listen to Alesius bawling against the edict of your bishops, that it is wicked to prohibit Christians from reading the holy books. For the bishops do not prohibit all from reading, but ignorant persons, the wild masses, people who are contentious, presumptuous, curious, doubtful of the faith, cold in religion, factious, and covetous of novelties – those to whom reading of this sort brings more harm than benefit.³⁵⁹

Cochlaeus then lists a number of those who are in fact allowed to read the Scriptures – not mentioning the vernacular – under this decree: kings, princes, magnates 'whose senses are well-exercised, and who have learned from the Church's preaching to understand correctly what they read', doctors and teachers who can seek the meaning of difficult passages in the

³⁵⁸ '... ex ore sacerdotum': Cochlaeus, *Pro Scotiae Regno Apologia*, fol. [A2v]; '... illi, qui neglecta aut contempta Ecclesiae pr[a]edicatione, audire nolentes, domi legunt in vernaculo, quod sine doctore sane intelligere non possunt, Contra ordinationem Dei, qua iubentur legem requirere ex ore sacerdotis': *ibid.*, fol. A3r.

³⁵⁹ 'Noli qu[a]eso audire, contra Episcoporum tuorum Edictum vociferantem Alesiu[m], q[uod] impium sit, prohibere Christianos à lectione sacrorum librorum. Episcopi enim non omnes à lectione prohibent, sed idiotas, populum rudem, homines contentiosos, praesumptuosos, curiosos, in fide dubios, in religione frigidos, factiosos, & nouaru[m] rerum cupidos, quibus eiusmodi lectio plus noceret q[uam] prodesset': *ibid.*, fol. A3r.

Fathers, and pious and honest citizens.³⁶⁰ The last group wish to read the saving teachings of the NT in order to edify themselves and their households. Cochlaeus does not spell out the conditions under which these individuals may read the NT, though surely he assumed they would read only from the Vulgate, and perhaps not in private homes.

The basic thrust of the 1532 episcopal decree may be reconstructed with some confidence. It certainly forbade reading of the Bible in the vernacular by laypeople, and may have forbidden this to clergy as well. It does not seem to have touched on lay reading of the Vulgate, though this would in any case have been a limited possibility. Cochlaeus's further qualification, that the decree specified which individuals could read the text, is more difficult to reconstruct; indeed, he may have been extrapolating from the text in his own fashion at this point.

At a local level, a monition to the clergy of his diocese from Gavin Dunbar, Archbishop of Glasgow, enjoined the excommunication of 'some children of iniquity of both sexes' in the diocese who 'have dared to read, interpret, and study diverse books of the New Testament published in the English language' along with other heretical works. This warning was written sometime during 1524-31.³⁶¹ Other references to the English NT are

³⁶⁰ 'Nequ[e] item prohibent Senioribus, qui exercitatos habent sensus, & ex Ecclesiasticis praedicationibus didicerunt sane intelligere quae legunt': *ibid.*, fol. [A3v].

³⁶¹ '... nonnulli iniquitatis filii utriusque sexus ... diversos novi testamenti libros Anglicana lingua impressos ... legere interpretari et studere sint ausi': Gordon Donaldson and C. Macrae, eds, *St. Andrews Formulare 1514-1546* [hereafter *St And. Form.*], 2 vols, Stair Society vols 7, 9 (Edinburgh: Stair Society, 1942, 1944), 1.191-2 (no. 185) (quotation), 2.ix (date). The phrase about the books of the NT was added in the margin in John Lauder's style-book, possibly because he confused two instances of *libros*, or possibly because he felt that 'libros codicillos et cartas hereticas' was not sufficiently precise for future use: *ibid.*, p. 192 n. 1.

few at this time, leaving little certainty about the fate of the shipment mentioned by Hackett, or indeed any others in the late 1520s or early 1530s.

The known shipment of NTs, and any others in the late 1520s, would have consisted entirely of Tyndale's Worms NT, the first and only complete edition before 1534. After its initial appearance in 1526, this NT saw some five pirated reprints in Antwerp, and thus apparently met a great demand, some of which must have come from Scotland.³⁶² While the translation aroused the ire of some scholars owing to its Protestant rendering of key words, it was otherwise a bare text in English with a short address to the reader at the end which offered a very brief and non-polemical, but practical, summary of law and gospel:

... feale in thesilfe a certayne sorowe, payne, and grefe to thyne herte: because thou canst nott with full luste do the dedes off the lawe. Applye the gospell, that is to saye the promyses, unto the deservynge off Christ, and to the mercye of god and his trouth, and soo shalt thou nott despeare: butt shalt feale god as a kynde and a mercifull father.³⁶³

Contemporaries on both sides certainly saw a connection between the vernacular NT and Protestantism, increasingly as the connection became more patent in the 1530s-40s. Unannotated Tyndale NTs were no doubt effective as a tool for the expansion of evangelical belief when combined with preaching or the clandestine discussions of a conventicle; from 1534 the addition of prefaces and notes facilitated the process further. The importation, distribution, and reading of vernacular NTs, though it cannot be charted for the earliest period, was underway by the late 1520s.

A.2 Legislation and samizdat

³⁶² Daniell, *Tyndale*, p. 187.

³⁶³ W.R. Cooper, ed, *The New Testament, Translated by Wiliam Tyndale: The text of the Worms edition of 1526 in original spelling* (London: The British Library, 2000): 554.

Prior to the publication of the first English NT, the Scottish Parliament was already concerned about the flow of other heretical books into the country. On 17 July 1525, it declared that although 'ye heretik luther[e] and his discipillis' had spread 'dampnable opu[n]zeoun[i]s of heresy' elsewhere, Scotland had never wavered from its faith. Parliament intended the country to remain orthodox, and decreed:

Therefor[e] yat na man[ir] of p[er]soun[e] strangear[e] yat hapnis to arrife w[i]t[h] y[ar] schippis w[i]t[h]in ony p[ar]t of yis realm bring w[i]t[h] yai[m] ony buk[is] or werk[is] of ye said lutheris his discipillis or s[er]uand[is] desputt or rehers[s] his heresyis or opu[n]zeoun[e]s bot geif It be to ye [con]fusioun y[ar]of vnd[ir] ye pane of escheting of y[ar] schippis and gud[is] and putting of y[ar] p[er]soun[e]s in presoun[e] And yat yis act[e] be publist and p[ro]clomit out throw yis realme at all port[is] and burrowis of ye sami[n] Sa yat yai may allege na Ignorance y[ar]of [And all vy[ir] ye king[is] lieg[is] assistar[is] to sic opu[n]zeoun[e]s be pvnist in semeible wise And ye effect[e] of ye said act[e] to strik apon[e] yai[m] & c[e]³⁶⁴

The language of the Act points to a trade already in place, specifying the way in which such books entered the country and requiring that the new regulations be 'publist and p[ro]clomit' in ports and burghs. Indeed, within a few weeks of its passage, Gavin Dunbar (uncle to the Archbishop of Glasgow of the same name) complained to James V that 'syndry strangearis and otheris within his diocesy of Aberdene, has bukis of that heretik Luthyr, and favoris his arrorys and fals opinionys'.³⁶⁵ In both the Act and this complaint, the blame for the spread of heretical books is placed squarely on the shoulders of foreigners.

³⁶⁴ Daniell, *Tyndale*, p. 187.

³⁶⁵ John Stuart, ed., *Extracts from the Council Register of the Burgh of Aberdeen 1398-1570*, Spalding Club vol. 12 (Aberdeen: Spalding Club, 1844), p. 110 (14 August 1525). Most scholars assume that the Act was passed because of an existing trade; see Donaldson, *Scottish Reformation*, p. 29, or Wormald, *Court*, p. 104.

However effective this stricture may have been, it did not end the circulation of samizdat. The chancellor and privy council considered revision necessary by 1527, now stating that discussion of such books – still with a view to their refutation – was to be undertaken ‘be clerkis in ye sculis alan[er]lie’, which may indicate that the proposed ‘[con]fusioun’ of the text had served as a loophole for illegal reading and study.³⁶⁶ As with the initial Act, it is safe to assume that the addition was reactionary, and is itself evidence for the reading of heretical books – a fact supported by other evidence, as will be seen.

In 1534, John Grierson, provincial of the Blackfriars, and John Bothwell, warden of the Greyfriars, petitioned the king to extend the Act by providing for ‘distroing of thir new bukis maid be the said Lutheris secteis baith in Latyne, Scottis, Inglis and Flemys’, and for punishment of offenders and those who were ‘harbriaris’ of the ‘strangearis and utheris’ who came into the country with ‘thar bukis’.³⁶⁷ James responded that he was aware of ‘divers tractatis and bukis translatit out of Latin in our Scottis tounge be heretikis ... of the sect of Luther’, and commanded that in the ‘burrowis quhair strangearis arrivis’, the ‘oistis and strangearis’ should be forbidden to ‘argone, disput or comone of ony of the saidis Lutheris ... opinionis or to have with thame ony of his bukis’.³⁶⁸

Perhaps in connection to this exchange, Parliament again felt it necessary to take action against heretical samizdat by reasserting the 1525 Act in 1535. In this reiteration, Luther has been promoted to a ‘grete heretik’, though no longer is the prohibition limited to him and his disciples, but

³⁶⁶ The additional material ‘p[er] ca[n]cella[r]u[m] et d[omi]nos [con]siliij’ was written in the margin on 4 Sept. 1527.

³⁶⁷ *ADC Public*, pp. 422-23.

³⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 423. It is possible that Gau’s book was known to the authorities. The ‘oistis and strangearis’ must have been discussing religion in inns and taverns.

includes 'ony vy[ir] heresy'. Again, a marginal addition offers further clarity, now stating that the king's own lieges should not 'haue vse kepe or [con]sele ony buk[is] of the sad[is] heretik[is] or [con]tenand y[ar] doctrine and opinionis', but should surrender them to an ordinary within forty days.³⁶⁹ It was thus acknowledged that the problem was now not merely with outsiders, but with Scots; and heretical views were now having an unsalutary effect upon the church's authority. In the same session (12 June 1535), Parliament followed its reassertion of the original heresy act with another blaming heretical teaching for the fact that some Scots dared to 'lychtly [denigrate] the p[ro]cess[s] of cursing and vy[ir]is censuris of halikirk', and threatening them with forfeiture if they failed to take excommunication seriously.³⁷⁰

Although the books of Luther and his cohorts were admittedly a problem for the ecclesiastical and civil authorities in Scotland, the convenient fiction that heresy was purely an external threat yet appears in official documents of the 1520s and 1530s, especially in royal correspondence. As early as 1 Jan. 1526/7, James V (or rather his advisors) assured Pope Clement VII that he would prevent Lutheranism from entering Scotland, though at least twice in 1529 he describes it as a threat.³⁷¹ Following the lead of the 1525 Act, James in 1530 instructed Albany to remind the College of Cardinals of Scotland's 1300 years of orthodoxy, and to tell them that

[t]hough neighbouring realms and many foreign merchants who come to Scotland are infected with heresy, they have never dared to utter their poison publicly or privately, nor has any Scot ventured to agree with them, so stringent are the

³⁶⁹ APS 2.341-2.

³⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 2.342.

³⁷¹ *James V Letters*, pp. 134 (1527), 161, 163 (1529).

precautions taken by threat of scourging, flames, and loss of life and goods to

prevent the entry of heresy and check those inclining to favour heretical sects....³⁷²

In the same year, James made it clear to Clement that his efforts were keeping foreign heresy at bay; any incursion it had made was the fault of lax prelates.³⁷³ By 1536, James acknowledged his vexation with some difficult heretics (the Franciscan James Melville and nobleman James Hamilton of Kincavil), but was still insistent that the 'foul teaching' of the 'Lutheran plague' came from merchants 'from Germany, Denmark and neighbouring regions' – or, in Melville's case, from a wandering apostate.³⁷⁴ The following year James informed Pope Paul III that geography allowed greater scope for the spread of heresy in Scotland: 'wide firths penetrating into the heart of the country' allowed German merchants to smuggle 'that foul teaching' in with merchandise. Nevertheless he continued to prevent it, in spite of the attempts of Henry VIII to woo him away from Roman obedience.³⁷⁵ Even as late as 1541, James used this refrain in writing to Paul III, though heresy was so rampant across the sea and the southern border that 'Scots cannot stir a foot to go abroad without peril'.³⁷⁶

Clearly, James was speaking to the papal court in diplomatic terms, and these statements do not create any real tension with Parliament's legislation in reaction to the spread of heretical literature; the fact was that Scotland had not completely resisted heresy, whether in the fifteenth or early sixteenth centuries. Where James and Parliament agreed, however, they were absolutely correct: at this early stage, samizdat usually entered the

³⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 174.

³⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 183.

³⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 307, 315 (both 1536), 327 (1537).

³⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 327. Even Cochlaus had warned James in 1533 that German merchandise should be searched: *ibid.*, p. 241.

³⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 421, 424.

country hidden in shipments of merchandise from the low countries or other northern ports, in spite of all decrees to the contrary. These books had a foreign provenance, but some in any case were finding homes in Scotland. Their dissemination within the country, highly secretive, was not unknown to the authorities; an undated summons states that ‘certain parishioners’ in the diocese of Glasgow had decapitated a statue of the virgin, blasphemed the sacraments, held Lutheran heresies, and had some English NTs which they intended to distribute.³⁷⁷

A3. Books for refutation

Heretical books were not necessarily illegal in Scotland after the Act of 1525, for it had forbidden such volumes except for the purpose of refutation. This leniency, as mentioned, was evidently abused to the degree that the Lords of Council qualified it two years later to limit this activity to ‘clerkis in ye sculis alan[er]lie’. This challenge was taken up by bishops, monastic foundations, and universities alike. Amongst the episcopal ranks, Henry Sinclair, Bishop of Ross, owned a copy of Calvin’s defense of the Trinity; John Leslie, his successor, owned Konrad Pellikan’s commentary on the apostolic epistles; Adam Bothwell, Bishop of Orkney – who would conform to the Reformation in 1560 – owned Luther’s commentary on Genesis, and Calvin on Isaiah (though these could have been purchased after the Reformation Parliament). Works by Catholic polemicists helped in the task of rebuttal: several copies of Fisher’s *Confutatio*, along with volumes by

³⁷⁷ ‘... eos accusare et interrogare ... de et super assertione publicatione et professione nonnullorum articulorum expressam heresim in se continentium [others listed] ... necnon dictorum librorum novi testamenti lingua Anglicana impressorum publicationem detentionem possessionem et in variis nostrarum diocesis et provincie partibus distributionem’: *St And. Form.* 2.59-60 (no. 367).

Cochlaeus, Pighius, and the anti-Calvinist Bartholomeo Camerarius, survive from episcopal libraries.³⁷⁸

In monastic libraries, such books had a mixed legacy. On the one hand, Quintin Kennedy, Cluniac Abbot of Crossraguel, cited Protestant works to show disagreement amongst their authors; naming Luther, Oecolampadius, Zwingli, Melanchthon, Bucer, Bullinger, and Calvin, Kennedy argued that concerning the Eucharist, differences between Protestants showed their heresy: *quot homines, tot mentes*. It is difficult to tell how many of the volumes Kennedy actually used; while he cites some by name (from obscure works like Luther's epistle to the Strasbourg printer Herwagen to Calvin's well-known *Petit traicte de la sancte cene*), it is possible that he found them in the work of another Catholic controversialist (he cites some, notably Fisher). In the case of Melanchthon's *Loci communes*, however, he cites place and date of publication (Basel, 1546), suggesting that this volume at least was in his possession.³⁷⁹ But volumes held in monastic libraries could cause problems. A number of friars, canons, and monks, evidently becoming attached to the teaching they were meant to confute, faced either execution, abjuration, or flight to escape trial in the 1530s and 1540s. Notable amongst these were a number of Dominicans; likewise Augustinian canons, Franciscans, and some monks found themselves in this

³⁷⁸ ESL, as indexed.

³⁷⁹ The works, as Kennedy names them in his *Ane Compendius Tractiue*, ed David Laing, Wodrow Miscellany vol 1 (Edinburgh: Wodrow Society, 1844): pp. 157 (Luther, *In captivitate babilonica*; Melanchthon, *Tract. de Cena Domini, contra Anabapti*), 158 (Luther, *epis. ad Ioha. Harvagium*; Melanchthon, 'Commoun Places' and *De Anima*), 159 (Calvin, *Libel. de Cena Domini*), 161 (Melanchthon, *In locis theo.*, Basil. Anno 1546, Impress.), 169 (Bullinger, *Ad Eduardum 6, Reg. Ang.*). Kennedy was certainly using the works of other controversialists, e.g. 'the werk of Bunderius, callit, "Detectio Nugarum Lutheri," et "Malleum Johannis Fabri": *ibid.*, p. 159; or 'the Bischope of Rochestaris excellent werk incontrar Oecolampadius': *ibid.*, p. 168. He refers to Erasmus with some frequency as well.

uncomfortable position.³⁸⁰ Access to, and indeed encouragement to confute, heretical books must have been a factor in some of these defections. Nor did the problem abate: the provincial council of 1549 commanded that searches be made for heretical books, and singled out monasteries as a place to look for them.³⁸¹

The peril of apostate regulars spreading heretical doctrine was, by the mid-30s, acknowledged even in the royal correspondence. This problem had, however, been anticipated much earlier by the faculty at Louvain. Writing to Archbishop James Beaton after the burning of Hamilton, the Louvain doctors were wary of the influx of illegal books, particularly ‘by apostatiue Monkes, or by Marchauntes, the most suspected kynde of me[n] in these dayes’.³⁸² This problem was exacerbated considerably by the fact that friars and canons could and would preach their new doctrines, which must in some cases have been the cause for their discovery. Most of those who fled found new posts in Henrician England (prior to the fall of Cromwell) or in Protestant regions on the continent, which suggests that the doctrine which was welcomed abroad resembled closely that which endangered them at home.

The refutation of books was chiefly to be undertaken at universities, and this challenge was certainly met at St Andrews. In a later memoir, Alesius described his own involvement in the scholarly endeavour, noting his use of John Fisher’s *Assertionis Lutheranae Confutatio* (*editio princeps* 1522), a work frequently reprinted and widely used in the 1520s.³⁸³ Fisher had written this volume as a point by point refutation of Luther’s defiant

³⁸⁰ See the catalogue in Kirk, ‘Religion’, pp. 379-381.

³⁸¹ Patrick, *Statutes*, p. 123.

³⁸² Foxe 1583, p. 975. Cf. *ADC Public*, p. 423.

³⁸³ Wiedermann, ‘Martin Luther’, p. 22; Lorimer, *Patrick Hamilton*, p. 237.

response to his excommunication, the *Assertio Omnium Articulorum* of 1521. Luther's work not only maintained but strengthened all 41 articles laid to his charge in the bull of excommunication, the *Exsurge Domine*. As such, both Luther's and Fisher's works had a relatively organized, textbook feel, and the latter was taken up by many Scottish ecclesiastics faced with the challenge of confuting Luther. In this particular case, a copy of Luther's *Assertio* need not have been in the possession of his Scottish opponents, for the entire text was incorporated into Fisher's rebuttal, a common enough practice in polemical works.

Alesius's use of Fisher to confute Luther put him in contact with the latter's ideas, but in a negative context; and indeed he received praise for his confutation.³⁸⁴ Doubtless, the refutation of Luther proceeded reasonably well at St Andrews and elsewhere, particularly given the number of Scots who had studied at Paris, where Luther had been condemned by the Faculty of Theology in 1521. At St Andrews (and for a time at Glasgow), the Paris connection was best exemplified by John Mair, the well-known 'prince of Paris divines' who opposed Luther in print and no doubt from the lectern during his tenure 1523-26.³⁸⁵ Mair's learned and famous voice in the cause of refuting heretical books ensured that they would officially be rejected.

As in the monastic libraries, however, heretical books left a mixed legacy in the university. While students and faculty generally laboured to refute these volumes, in some cases they seem to have fostered evangelical belief. The clearest example of this pattern was Patrick Hamilton, as mentioned *supra*. Although he was by no means typical, the case of Hamilton demonstrates the connection between books and belief, practice, and preaching in the late 1520s.

³⁸⁴ '... cum applausu theologorum': cited *ibid*.

³⁸⁵ For these dates, see Burns, 'John Major', pp. 92-94.

An intriguing impasse is provided by references to the native printing of improper material. The council declared on 2 June 1543 that ‘sclanderous billis, writtingis, ballatis and bukis ... ar dalie maid, written and prentit’, which gave reason to ‘leichlie and contem’ both the spiritual and temporal estates. The printing was local, and the council forbade anyone to ‘mak, write, or imprent ony sic billis, writtingis, ballatis ... or ... bukis’; printers who had such books must burn them.³⁸⁶ Reporting on the same time period (after the March Act allowing the vernacular Bible), Knox comments, ‘[t]hen ware sett furth werkis in our awin tounge, besydis those that came from England, that did disclose the pryde, the craft, the tyranny, and abuses of that Romane Antichrist’.³⁸⁷ On 1 Feb. 1551/2, Parliament declared:

... thair is divers Prentaris in the Realme that daylie and continuallie prentis bukis concerning the faith ballatis sangis blasphematiounis rymes alsweill of Kirkmen as temporall and vthers Tragedeis alsweill in latine as in Inglis tounge ... as appertenis to the defamatioun & sclander of the liegis of this Realme.³⁸⁸

Henceforth printers had to obtain license for printing, and could be forfeited for violation of this statute. However, none of the works in question has survived. Hence the native publication of heretical materials is in evidence, but without specific titles beyond ‘the new dialoge caliit pascullis and the ballait callit the bair’.³⁸⁹

A.4 Book ownership and reading

The number and distribution of NTs and prohibited books cannot be estimated. Books owned by the laity were far less likely to survive in other libraries than those owned by clergy or scholars, as is clear from the listings

³⁸⁶ *ADC Public*, p. 527.

³⁸⁷ Knox, *Works*, 1.101.

³⁸⁸ *APS* 2.488-89. Edinburgh printer Robert Lekpreuik would be prosecuted under this statute in 1574.

³⁸⁹ *ADC Public*, p. 527.

by Durkan and Ross, as well as the disappearance of the thirty books listed in the 1584 testament of Marjorie Roger.³⁹⁰ The best evidence that evangelical books and NTs were in circulation comes from the legislation against this, but there are sketchy details elsewhere.³⁹¹ Someone in the Kyle Lollard circle seems to have owned a Coverdale NT, and Patrick Hamilton had Tyndale's translation. Captain John Borthwick (for whom see ch. 5) owned an English NT, unnamed works by Oecolampadius, Melancthon, Erasmus, 'and of various other condemned heretics', as well as the *Unio dissidentium*.³⁹² A certain 'R.B. of W.' owned a copy of 'Querela pauperum' (Simon Fish's *Supplication of the Beggars*?) in the diocese of St Andrews in the 1530s.³⁹³ Norfolk famously reported to Cromwell on 29 March 1539 that, 'Daily there come to me gentlemen and clerks, who flee out of Scotland, as they say, for reading the Scripture in English'.³⁹⁴ The martyrs of 1544 in Perth clearly had a Bible or NT.³⁹⁵ Among Marjorie Roger's library were volumes by Cranmer and Hooper which were published between 1548-50, though when she or her husband acquired them is unknown.³⁹⁶

Ownership of the vernacular Bible or heretical books seems as a rule to have been connected to group reading and discussion. Knox mentions that the

³⁹⁰ Edinburgh Testaments, 30 Jan. 1583/4 (for a transcription of which I am grateful to Prof. Michael Lynch).

³⁹¹ Cf. the cases of Robert Forrester and Martin Balkesky: Robert Pitcairn, *Ancient Criminal Trials in Scotland*, 7 vols (Edinburgh: Bannatyne Club, 1833), 1.216-18.

³⁹² *RStAKS*, pp. 97-98.

³⁹³ *St And. For.* 2.72 (no. 370).

³⁹⁴ *LP Henry VIII* 14(1).243 (no. 625).

³⁹⁵ Foxe 1583, p. 1267.

³⁹⁶ Marjorie Roger testament, transcribed by Lynch. These are: Hooper on the ten commandments (1548) and on Jonah (1550); Cranmer's defence of the true and Catholic doctrine of the Sacrament (1550) and catechism (1548).

knowledge of God did wonderouslie increase within this realme, partlie by reading, partlie by brotherlye conferance, which in those dangerouse dayis was used to the comforte of many works.³⁹⁷

Like ownership, 'brotherlye conferance' is impossible to gauge, though Knox corroborates official warnings by attributing such discussion primarily to 'merchantis and marinaris, who, frequenting other cuntreis, heard the trew doctrin affirmed, and the vanitie of the Papisticall religioun openlye rebucked'.³⁹⁸ Legislation against books, as described above, often included a proscription of conventicles or discussion as well, which is the best evidence that such activity took place. As early as the Act of 1525, Parliament forbade not only the importation of Luther's books, but also that anyone should 'desputt or rehers[s] his heresyis or opu[n]zeoun[e]s bot geif It be to ye [con]fusioun y[ar]of'.³⁹⁹ Group discussion was also a concern of Archbishop Dunbar, who stated in his monition (1524-31) that heretics would 'daily discuss them [heretical doctrines] both publicly and privately, in conversations, at meals and in taverns, and read, encourage, own, and maintain them in public gatherings and in their conventicles'.⁴⁰⁰ In 1541, Parliament declared '[t]hat na p[ri]vate co[n]uention[n]is be maid to desput on[n] ye scripto[u]r'; whether in 'housis nor vyir wayis', there were to be no 'congregationis or[e] co[n]ue[n]ticulis to com[m]one or despute of ye haly scriptour[e]'.⁴⁰¹ David Beaton, appointing a commission to investigate heresy in the diocese of St Andrews, specified those who 'read, study,

³⁹⁷ Knox, *Works*, 1.61.

³⁹⁸ *Ibid.* Dundee and Leith were the 'principalles'.

³⁹⁹ APS 2.295.

⁴⁰⁰ '... indies disputare easdemque tam publice quam private in colloquiis conviviis potationibus et publicis societatibus et conventiculis eorundem recitare affirmare asserere et sustinere': *St And. Form.*, 1.192.

⁴⁰¹ APS 2.370.

interpret, or expound' books containing heretical material.⁴⁰² There are instances of several individuals being accused at once of reading forbidden volumes, which probably reveals a conventicle.⁴⁰³ Ecclesiastical and secular authorities realised that Bibles or heretical books became proportionally more dangerous as the number of readers or listeners increased.

Being secretive, however, the conventicles left little trace of their existence.⁴⁰⁴ From the legislation against them, it is reasonable to assume that the meetings consisted of reading aloud, discussion of texts, perhaps an exhortation and prayers. This was no doubt helped along by the prefaces, glosses, and cross-references of English NTs and Bibles from 1534 onwards, paratextual material which clearly and succinctly connected justification by faith to the text of Scripture. But were the conventicles functionally 'privy kirks' before the mid-1550s? The writings of Scottish evangelicals gave no reason for their audience to assume that the true church should separate from the false, a belief associated with the Radicals rather than the magisterial reformers; though perhaps with Wishart in the 1540s came the Reformed idea that the church should be purified. The conceptual leap from private devotional gathering to gathered church was considerable, and it is more likely that the conventicles regarded their activities as a supplement to the kirk rather than a supplanter of it. In this sense, the conventicle was not dissimilar from other forms of late-medieval piety which, apart from the Mass, shifted the *locus* of religious devotion from the church to the home or

⁴⁰² 'legere studere seu interpretari aut dogmatizare': *St And. Form.* 2.106 (no. 397).

⁴⁰³ Several burgesses of Stirling were accused of 'hefing and vsing of sic bukis' on 10 Jan. 1537/8: West Register House, Supplementary Processes JC 27/7/2. I am grateful to Dr Linda Dunbar for providing me with a transcript of this incident. One of them, Robert Forrester, was burned the following year: Foxe 1583, p. 1266.

⁴⁰⁴ On the privy kirks generally, see the article in Kirk, *Patterns*, pp. 1-15.

marketplace; David Straiton and friends read the Bible in a field.⁴⁰⁵ Like the saint's cult, the book of hours, or the *devotio moderna*, the conventicle provided an outlet for individuals who wanted to exercise their piety personally and regularly.⁴⁰⁶

The conventicle, however, differed in significant ways from other forms of devotion. Most obviously, group reading and discussion were banned by both church and state, and although such meetings did not necessarily imply anticlericalism, they were in themselves an act of some defiance and boldness. The conventicle also provided a theology which differed dramatically from other forms of individual piety. Nothing was earned by attendance, and indeed nothing could be earned. The desire to personalise devotion by the reading of Scripture was ideally done not to attain salvation, but out of gratitude for salvation received. Meeting in a conventicle also differed in that it brought suspicion rather than praise. Secretive meetings among the evangelicals must have raised eyebrows in their localities, and the possibility of prosecution must have been a constant concern, even when there was little actual danger of it.

B. Heresy trials

Books and conventicles were a concern for the authorities, but accusations of heresy went beyond these to specific actions or beliefs which shed some light on the assimilation of evangelical theology in various parts of the country. An initial caveat regarding these trials, however, is

⁴⁰⁵ Knox, *Works*, 1.59.

⁴⁰⁶ Goodare refers to this as a desire for 'intellectually satisfying religion' rather than 'quasi-magical ritual': Goodare, 'Scotland', p. 97. It is interesting to note Knox's report of David Straiton as 'ane vehement exhortar of all men to concord, to qwyetness, and to the contempt of the world': Knox, *Works*, 1.59. These virtues, connected to Straiton's newfound study of the Bible, shows something of the overlap between personal devotion and evangelical piety.

necessary. Scholars have long bemoaned the loss of episcopal records for pre-Reformation Scotland, and with regard to heresy trials, this lacuna is devastating. Apart from Hamilton, Borthwick, and Wishart, the records of accusation which survive are almost all considerably later than the trial, and written from hindsight. Most of these are found in Knox's *History* or Foxe's *Actes and monuments*, which often present different charges for the same trial. Foxe received a considerable amount of material in 1564, which Freeman believes to have come from John Winram, an eyewitness to many of the trials.⁴⁰⁷ If this makes these charges more believable, they must still be evaluated with caution, for there were decades between the trials themselves and Winram's memoirs.

B.1 Official records

The surviving original documents do not generally shed more light on the specific beliefs of the accused, and may in any case not be accurate. These refer to the 'condemned opinions of Martin Luther', 'novelties of the Lutherans', or simply 'heretical pravity'.⁴⁰⁸ However, the purgation of 'R.B. of W.' includes specific charges (which he denied): the regular clergy were 'nets to collect the goods of laymen', church blessings are ineffectual, censures are only meant to terrify, ownership of the *Querela pauperum* (calling it his 'prayer book'), belief that the crown should dispossess church lands.⁴⁰⁹ This case demonstrates several of the vagaries of heresy trial

⁴⁰⁷ Freeman, 'Reik'.

⁴⁰⁸ *St And. Form.* 1.191 (no. 185) ('damnatas ... Martini Lutheri ... opinionones'), 2.59 (no. 367) ('Lutheranarum novitatum'), 2.106 (no. 397) ('heretica pravitate'), 2.144 (no. 416) ('heretice pravitis'), 2.164 (no. 427) ('crimine heresis'). Reports in other official records are similarly vague: cf. *ADC Public*, pp. 426-27, 446, 482, 486; *TA* 6.8, 58, 209, 313; or *RSS* and other sources as referenced in Margaret Sanderson's list of heretics: Sanderson, *Cardinal*, pp. 270-84.

⁴⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 2.72-73 (text translated by editors).

evidence. The accused had, it was said, spread the heresies of Luther, but whether this comment included more than the items listed is crucial: either the authorities did not spell out the Lutheran beliefs which they understood, or they identified anticlerical sentiment with Lutheranism. The fact that John Mair, Gavin Logie, and Peter Chaplain were on hand does not necessarily resolve the issue, for they might well have conceded a less technical use of 'Lutheran' to prosecute anticlericalism. Moreover, R.B. of W.'s denial of the charges must be considered. Was he being evasive, belligerent, or honest?

The nature of inquisitorial practice in Scotland is also lost with episcopal records. General patterns certainly emerge from those records which survive: there was a great deal of effort and expenditure for rooting out heresy between 1532-34 and 1538-39; there was no consistent target of the inquisitions in terms of doctrine or practice⁴¹⁰; the inquisitions affected various levels of society, and were very interested in heretical clergy, secular or regulars; abjuration or flight by the accused was far more common than actual burning; royal support for inquisition was inconsistent, even when James V attended a trial. But several uncertainties cloud the nature of inquisitions. It is impossible to say how concerned individual bishops were about heresy, and how much effort they actually invested in seeking out heretics; likewise, it is difficult to tell how aware the authorities were of the actual shape of evangelical belief.⁴¹¹ In the case of David Straiton (1534), Knox reports that he was initially charged with heresy for non-payment of teinds, which in a year of many accusations might reflect the ability of authorities to use heresy charges to bring troublesome types like Straiton

⁴¹⁰ On this point *cf.* Bardgett, *Scotland*, pp. 22-23.

⁴¹¹ *Cf.* Sanderson, *Cardinal*, pp. 78-79.

into line.⁴¹² Similarly, Richard Carmichael reportedly said in his sleep, 'The devill tak away the preastis, for thei ar a greedy pack', for which he had to recant; anticlericalism, as Knox stated, could be 'judged heresy'.⁴¹³ The connection of accusation to spectacle must also be considered.⁴¹⁴

Euan Cameron suggests that 'conspicuous irreligion' rather than evangelical theology brought about some accusations, whereas 'literate 'reformism'' was more difficult to pin down than '[p]etty bourgeois urban Lutheranism'.⁴¹⁵ What came to the notice of the authorities was generally more visible than group reading, but there is no necessary connection between group reading and proselytization, defiance of church demands such as tithes, or acts of iconoclasm. Thus accusations and convictions are hardly a reflection of the spread of evangelical theology or Bible reading, which were difficult to root out, and may or may not have brought about any open dissent. The relative rarity of 'unrest' cannot be a reliable measure for evangelical opinion.⁴¹⁶

B.2 Knox and Foxe

Both Knox and Foxe offer more detail regarding heresy charges, though their accuracy is questionable. Apart from Hamilton and Borthwick, for whom official records were consulted, and Wishart, whose trial was published in a tract very soon after his death, the reports in these chronicles

⁴¹² Knox, *Works*, 1.58-59. Under Beaton, Knox reported that 'yf two or thre had provin any poynt, that by thare law was holden heresy, that was ane heretick': *ibid.*, 1.81.

⁴¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 44-45. See Carol Edington, "'To speik of Preistis be sure it is na bourds": discussing the priesthood in pre-Reformation Scotland', in *The Reformation of the Parishes*, ed Andrew Pettegree (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1993): 22-42.

⁴¹⁴ See Jane E.A. Dawson, 'The Scottish Reformation and the Theatre of Martyrdom', in *Martyrs and Martyrologies*, ed Diana Wood, SCH 30 (Oxford: Blackwell, 1993): 259-70.

⁴¹⁵ Cameron, *European Reformation*, pp. 290-91.

⁴¹⁶ Pace Cowan, *Scottish Reformation*, pp. 89-90, 96-99.

generally come from word of mouth.⁴¹⁷ The overall pattern in Knox and Foxe is that heretics were executed for a combination of doctrinal issues and personal behaviours, many of which can be tentatively connected to solafideist teaching. A brief and selective précis should serve to highlight the connections.⁴¹⁸

Henry Forrest (c. 1532), had an English NT (Knox), and considered Hamilton's articles true (Foxe), both suggesting evangelical doctrine.⁴¹⁹ Agreement with Hamilton was likewise behind the flight of James, his brother, and the recantation of Katherine, his sister (1534); the latter famously responded to the accusation that her works could not save her by stating, 'worke worde there: what kinde of working is all this? I knowe perfectly that no kinde of workes can saue me, but only the workes of Christ my Lord and Sauour', a clear indication that she had digested her brother's teaching.⁴²⁰ Broadly evangelical belief can also be inferred behind the woman of Leith who cried out in childbirth 'Christe helpe mee, Christe helpe

⁴¹⁷ For the last two trials, Adam Wallace (1550) and Walter Myln (1559), the records were more recent and thus far more detailed and reliable.

⁴¹⁸ Some fine comprehensive surveys of heretical activity during this period have been produced, on which the present brief survey relies: Cowan, *Scottish Reformation*, pp. 89-107; Durkan, 'Cultural', pp. 295-303; Kirk, 'Religion', pp. 372-98, and *Patterns*, pp. 1-11; Sanderson, *Cardinal*, pp. 74-93, 270-84. A superb study of early modern martyrdom generally has informed this section: Brad S. Gregory, *Salvation at Stake: Christian Martyrdom in Early Modern Europe*, Harvard Historical Studies 134 (Cambridge, MA: HUP, 2001).

⁴¹⁹ Knox, *Works*, 1.53; Foxe 1583 p. 982. Forrest, as he was being defrocked, curiously shouted out, 'take from me not onely your owne orders, but also youre owne baptisme', which to Foxe meant 'whatsoever is besides that which Christ himselfe instituted': *ibid.* This might indicate sacerdotalism rather than anticlericalism, that is, the denial of the validity of the priests' religious role. For the term, see Norman F. Cantor, *The Civilization of the Middle Ages* (NY: HarperPerennial, 1994): 384.

⁴²⁰ Foxe 1583, p. 982. She fled to Berwick in early 1539 to escape persecution: *LP Henry VIII* 14(1).243 (no. 625).

mee, in whose helpe I truste' rather than invoke Mary.⁴²¹ Norman Gurlay (1534) was accused of denying purgatory and papal authority, the first of which particularly shows a connection to solafideism; such charges indicate discussion of opinions which may not have entailed any particularly tangible actions.⁴²² With Gurlay was David Straiton, accused of non-payment, but according to Foxe also of holding that Purgatory only consisted in the 'Passion of Christe, and the tribulations of thys worlde', which if accurate would perhaps suggest at least passing adherence to solafideist theology.⁴²³

The martyrs of 1539 included the Dominican William Keillour, who had written a play about the Passion which depicted the bishops as persecutors of those who professed the 'Evangell', though perhaps this is Knox adding an evangelical twist to an anticlerical production.⁴²⁴ With Keillour was Thomas Forret, who preached to his congregation every Sunday 'the mysteries of the Scriptures ... in English'. In a parley with the bishop of Dunkeld, Forret refused to take traditional payments from his parishioners, and also refused to preach less; he was soon summoned and burned as a heresiarch, and for attending the marriage of canon Thomas Cocklaw (not named) during Lent, and eating meat there.⁴²⁵ Insofar as the vernacular Scripture was an indication of evangelical belief, Forret may be thus labelled; the wedding of Cocklaw is reminiscent of Zwingli, both in the marriage of a priest and the eating of meat during Lent, but these do not

421 *Ibid.*

422 *Ibid.*; Knox says only that he had 'knowledge': Knox, *Works*, 1.58.

423 Foxe 1583, p. 982.

424 Knox, *Works*, 1.62.

425 Foxe 1583, p. 1266. Calderwood reported that Forret had said 'I never ministered the sacraments, but I said, 'As bread entereth into you mouth, so sall Christ dwell in livelie faith into your hearts': Calderwood, *History*, 1.128. This intriguing report is late, but might suggest a Zwinglian position.

necessarily imply solafideism. Jerome Russell and one Kennedy faced heresy charges which are not specified by Knox, but Wharton reported that Russell held 'the Inglish menes opynyons'.⁴²⁶

A final group of laypeople was charged in Jan. 1544 in Perth. According to Knox, who seems to have been more interested in demonstrating the cruelty of ecclesiastical authorities than in locating a lineage of early Protestantism, these were convicted 'of nothing but only of suspitioun that thei had eittin a guse upoun Fryday'.⁴²⁷ Foxe offers more detail of a widely varied set of accusations. Robert Lamb had interrupted a sermon; with Wiliam Anderson and James Ranaldson he had violated the 1543 Act by discussion of the Bible; they had hung an image of St Francis and attached a tail and horns to it; and (corroborating Knox) they had eaten a goose 'on Alhalow euen'. The flesher James Hunter had 'no greate knowledge in Doctrine', but was accused for his association with the others, whose conventicle, iconoclasm, and defiance of food regulations probably reflect some degree of evangelical influence. Helen Stirk had claimed that, had she lived at the right time, God might have chosen her in her 'humilitie and base estate' to be the mother of Christ, pretty clearly reflecting Protestant opinion of Mary. James Ranaldson had made a carving of a papal crown which Beaton took to be satirical at his expense.⁴²⁸ This curious group's conventicles probably exacerbated the other charges against them, which otherwise might have been taken for hotheaded or careless behaviour.

⁴²⁶ Knox, *Works*, 1.63-66 (quotation pp. 63-64 n. 8)

⁴²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 117. Yet even if such trivial accusations were used, it may show real concern on the part of the authorities: Sanderson, *Cardinal*, p. 79.

⁴²⁸ Foxe 1583, pp. 1266-67. Euan Cameron believes this group to be guilty of 'conspicuous irreligion' rather than any evangelical adherence: Cameron, *European Reformation*, p. 290

These records do not present anything like a clear picture of evangelical influence across Scotland, but there cannot be much question that the actions taken had their roots in at least a 'curious blend of beliefs, ranging from old Lollard tenets to inchoate Protestant doctrine', as Kirk has described it.⁴²⁹ Occasionally the actions in question, such as iconoclasm, have been attributed to financial or other grudges, but it may more generally have been tied to evangelical beliefs.⁴³⁰

B.3 Recantation

As in other parts of Europe, the number of Scottish heresy trials was far greater than the number of executions; there is no reason to doubt that the Scots clergy, like their counterparts elsewhere, preferred amendment to punishment.⁴³¹ Some of these fled, but most recanted, a common enough occurrence in the early modern period. Recantation did not, of course, indicate a genuine change of opinion, as the case of James Hamilton of Kincavil shows. First accused in 1532 of beliefs very similar to those of his brother (denial of free will, purgatory, prayer to saints, pope after St. Peter, prayers for the dead), he recanted, but within two years was again summoned for denying homage to saints, owning prohibited books, and saying the Lord's Prayer in the vernacular (did he own a copy of the *Richt Vay*?).⁴³² This time he fled to Berwick, but would recant a second time by 1537, when James V wrote on his behalf to the papacy.⁴³³ Although the papal pardon eventually came through, Hamilton had his original beliefs

⁴²⁹ Kirk, 'Religion', p. 377.

⁴³⁰ Cowan, *Scottish Reformation*, p. 100; but see James Kirk, 'Iconoclasm and Reform', *RSCHS* 24 (1992): 366-83.

⁴³¹ Gregory, *Salvation at Stake*, p. 80.

⁴³² *James V Letters*, pp. 274-75.

⁴³³ *Ibid.*, p. 330. See Durkan, 'Scottish "Evangelicals"', p. 133.

affirmed by the General Assembly in 1563.⁴³⁴ In spite of his three recantations, Hamilton never abandoned his evangelical beliefs, recalling the English example of Edward Crome.⁴³⁵

It must be assumed that many of those who abjured were similarly unchanged, at least privately. If the Lollards of the west coast had a tradition of abjuration on the belief that oaths were meaningless, the evangelicals elsewhere found it difficult to justify denying their beliefs, but more difficult to face the scaffold. Knox, for his part, could be surprisingly forgiving, as with Seton, but he praised both Straiton and Kennedy for refusing to recant.⁴³⁶ Others could be harsher in their assessment of those who burnt their bills. Walter Stewart recanted for breaking an image in the kirk of Ayr, but drowned on the way home; however, 'being sorie for his recantatioun, he was assured of the mercie of God, in Christ'.⁴³⁷

It is not in the least surprising to find in Scotland many recantations among the 'little flock'. Nor do they negate the commitments of those who recanted, as often it can be demonstrated that the same individuals, at a later date, still espoused their evangelical opinions. For the present study, the frustration is that so little is known of the doctrine of either the bills or the individuals burned.

C. Evangelical preaching

The uncertainties regarding book ownership and heresy trials also apply to the content of preaching by those few who took it on themselves to proclaim the new doctrine. Hamilton has already been noted, but his time and geographical influence were limited. The limitations of evidence

⁴³⁴ Kirk, 'Religion', p. 373.

⁴³⁵ Wabuda, 'Equivocation'.

⁴³⁶ Knox, *Works*, pp. 55, 60, 64.

⁴³⁷ Cited in Pitcairn, *Trials*, p. 335.

prevent any firm conclusions. Preaching, rare among the secular clergy, sometimes occurred in public, as was spectacularly the case with one John Scott, famed for his fasting, who preached after being 'brocht naikit to the croce of Edinburgh' in 1532.⁴³⁸ The mendicant orders seem to have preached with reasonable regularity; it is therefore significant that many of the defections to evangelical theology from within the church came from the Dominicans, Franciscans, or Augustinian canons.⁴³⁹

The pattern seems to be that, whether through reading or discussion, these individuals became convinced of evangelical doctrine. That their convictions were not simply a strident reformism unpalatable to the church is borne out by the strident reformism of such leading lights as Mair and (later) Quintin Kennedy. Many of the prelates seem to have agreed that such reforms were necessary, and as far as can be determined from the heresy trials, simple calls for moral or institutional reform did not bring prosecution.

Adherence to the new doctrine, on the other hand, could only have been known through personal discussion or preaching, and in cases like that of Thomas Forret, there is reason to believe that from the pulpit he held forth for public display material influenced by Lutheran soteriology. Among these friars were an impressive group of later evangelical leaders: John MacAlpine and John Macdowell, both Dominican priors, John Willock, John Craig, and John Rough all had significant careers after fleeing Scotland, whether in England or on the continent, as did canons Alesius and Robert

⁴³⁸ David Laing, ed, *A diurnal of remarkable occurrents that have passed within the country of Scotland since the death of King James the fourth till the year 1575* (Edinburgh: Bannatyne Club, 1833): 15.

⁴³⁹ Kirk, 'Religion', pp. 379-81.

Richardson.⁴⁴⁰ But virtually nothing of what they believed, or how they were discovered, is known.⁴⁴¹

If the evangelical friars took it upon themselves to preach, it was probable that they would be summoned or forced to flee before long. Heretics in secret meetings might be difficult to apprehend, but public preaching offered no question as to identity or doctrine. Scottish ecclesiastical authorities, hoping to keep evangelical and heretical beliefs in check, would not have allowed this to continue for long, and it was in their power to stop it. But the frequency and content of evangelical preaching cannot be determined.

D. Conclusion

The significant feature of dissent in the 1530s and '40s was not that it was spectacular but that, without leadership, it persisted and that protestantism seems to have made an appeal to people of very different backgrounds and outlook.⁴⁴²

Sanderson's assessment is instructive with regard to the spread of evangelical doctrine during this period. Among the few certainties is that NTs, complete Bibles, and books with heretical content could be found around the country, and that they made an impact on those who read them. Such reading was certainly a factor in the conversion of a few students at St Andrews, and a number of friars across the country, though argumentation and discussion also drew these individuals to theological positions unacceptable to the church. Thus as the potential leaders of the evangelical cells fled or burned, continuity was maintained by conventicle.

⁴⁴⁰ *Ibid.*; Durkan, 'Scottish "Evangelicals"', *passim*; on MacAlpine and Macdowell in particular, John Durkan, 'Some Local Heretics', *Transactions of the Dumfries and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society* 36 (1959): 67-77.

⁴⁴¹ It may be relevant that in Norfolk's 1539 report to Cromwell he specifies that 'clerks' were crossing the border because of Bible reading: *LP Henry VIII* 14(1).243 (no. 625).

⁴⁴² Sanderson, *Cardinal*, p. 80.

It was the laity, drawn to the reading of the sacred text and a theology which refashioned individual religious certainties, who maintained the presence of evangelicalism in Scotland during this period. If some among them were executed or exiled, the books could perhaps be hidden, and thus the centre of the conventicle remained even if the some members did not. Difficult to apprehend, and generally not creating unrest, the members of these conventicles practised a quiet yet defiant piety. Those bolder among them held court in taverns and inns, hopeful of persuading others that the righteousness of Christ was revealed from faith to faith.

Evangelicalism, however hazy and inchoate it may have been in the 1530s, still spread. By the time the first lengthy preaching tour was undertaken by George Wishart from 1543-46, a number of local nobles were willing to defend him and provide him an audience. While this preacher shifted the way they understood the outgrowths of solafideism, its roots were firmly planted before his arrival, nurtured as Knox said, 'partlie by reading, partlie by brotherlye conferance'.

Chapter five: Heretics in high places

To Scottish evangelicals who had weathered the opposition of church and state through the 1530s, the opening of the next decade brought modest encouragement. In court circles, Thomas Bellenden, John Borthwick, Henry Balnaves, and Sir David Lindsay of the Mount were known to have evangelical leanings, and at Epiphany in 1540, James V watched with open enjoyment the 'Linlithgow Interlude', a play almost certainly by Lindsay which lampooned clerical abuse and called for secular appropriation of church lands. James's tendency to exact favours from Rome by threatening to follow his uncle's lead in this respect was well-established, but seemed more in earnest as the Scottish king planned a visit with Henry in York in 1541. Royal policy was in any case complex, in part due to the influence of David Beaton, now cardinal; the condemnation of John Borthwick *in absentia* in 1540 shows both the power of the church to take down a high-ranking member of court and the king's lack of support for a more thorough inquisition. If state and church were not in accord, perhaps that was the most hopeful sign of all.

5.1 Court evangelicals

5.1.a Thomas Bellenden

That James had taken to his side men of evangelical persuasion was nothing new; his on-again, off-again favour to James Hamilton of Kincavil and the martyr's sister in the previous decade had already shown that theological opinions were not the primary gauge of the king's estimation. As far as his magnates were concerned, James 'did not care greatly what his nobility thought about religion'.⁴⁴³ By the late 1530s, various members of the king's retinue were known to adhere to heretical teaching of some sort,

⁴⁴³ Jamie Cameron, *James V: The Personal Rule 1528-1542*, ed Norman Macdougall (East Linton, East Lothian: Tuckwell, 1998), 322.

generally advocating the English-style dispossession of ecclesiastical holdings. Justice-clerk Thomas Bellenden met with Sir William Eure in January 1540, giving an enthusiastic report of James's reaction to the Linlithgow Epiphany play, to the planning of which he had been privy; Eure reported that the Scot was 'inclined to the sort [of spirituality] used in our Sovereign's realm of England', and had requested copies of the English suppression acts.⁴⁴⁴ Whether in Bellenden's case an act of royal supremacy can be equated with evangelical tenets is difficult to tell, and it is not clarified by his presence at Borthwick's trial. His opposition to war with the English may have been a matter of fiscal concerns, Lutheran sympathies, or both.⁴⁴⁵

5.1.b Sir John Borthwick

More clearly mixing evangelical commitment with anglophile politics was Sir (or Captain) John Borthwick. A younger son of William, third Lord Borthwick, he may have attended St Andrews University from 1509-11, but by 1529 he was in the company of Francis I's Scottish archers, where he would continue until 1539.⁴⁴⁶ On 19 Sept. 1535, Borthwick was commended to Thomas Cromwell by Florence Wilson for speaking well of Henry VIII in France, and in the following August Borthwick was in London, reporting to Cromwell the presence of recalcitrant priests. On 23 Feb. 1537, while accompanying James V on his matrimonial journey to France, he reported to Cromwell from Compeigne his disgust at the gift to James of the papal cap and sword, the former of which was 'to cowar and hald downe all ye fals simulation and wikit ypocrisy at ringis in papists; but it is to litil to hydd all'.

⁴⁴⁴ *LP Henry VIII*, 15.36 (no. 114).

⁴⁴⁵ Cameron, *James V*, p. 293.

⁴⁴⁶ Durkan, 'Scottish Evangelicals', p. 133; Anderson, *Early Records*, pp. 99, 204. The difficulty in identifying the student with the captain is age; the captain died on a military endeavour in 1569, and if he studied at St Andrews 1509-11, he would have been in his mid-seventies at the time – which is of course possible. He certainly knew Latin.

Both Henry and James rewarded Borthwick in 1538, Henry with £20, James with 100 crowns. In 1539 he returned to the Scottish court, where in Feb. 1540 he and David Lindsay escorted English ambassador Ralph Sadler to the king at Mass, then had dinner with him.⁴⁴⁷ This introduction appears to be a 'contrived tableaux',⁴⁴⁸ which showed James's janus-faced religious posturing: the resolutely orthodox king kept at court men known to hold heretical opinions.

Borthwick's return to the Scottish court was timely, for the arrival of Sadler marked an intensification of Henry's attempts to persuade his nephew to follow his religious lead, and thus to seal his northern border against invasion from the Scots or the French. Whether or not this policy actually interested James – and he stood little to gain, as the Stewart foothold in the Scottish church was so firm – he dropped enough hints, such as his comments at the Linlithgow Interlude, to keep Henry optimistic.⁴⁴⁹ Formally, therefore, James rebuffed Sadler's ecclesiastical proposals, casting them, according to Cardinal Pole, into the fire.⁴⁵⁰ However, his continuing favour to Borthwick and Bellenden gave the impression that his ear could still be gained.

Complicating matters for the court anglophiles and evangelicals were the Act of Six Articles in England, and the elevation of David Beaton to Cardinal and Archbishop of St Andrews, all within eighteen months. With the passage of the Act, flirtation with Henrician policy no longer had to

⁴⁴⁷ LP Henry VIII 11.144 (no. 355), 12(1).233 (no. 496) (quotation), 13(2).535 (no. 1280), 15.88-89 (no. 248); *Treasurer's Accounts* 7.24.

⁴⁴⁸ Cameron, *James V*, p. 289.

⁴⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 287-92, which analysis is followed here. 'In effect, all that James was doing was preserving the status quo *vis à vis* th Scottish Church. This suited him nicely as he got money from it': *ibid.*, p. 290. Cf. Cowan, *Scottish Reformation*, p. 52.

⁴⁵⁰ Cited in Cameron, *James V*, p. 289.

include evangelical reform measures; with the accession of Beaton, a powerful and determined foe of both pro-English and evangelical concerns was given tremendous ecclesiastical influence. The former complication dealt a blow to those who combined anglophile and evangelical commitments, but they do not appear to have abandoned either position: a national church was preferable to one headed at Rome. As vexing as the Act was, the fall of Cromwell, a sponsor of several exiled Scots and a contact of Borthwick's, was possibly worse. Beaton's accession would have dire consequences for some evangelicals among the populace, but not generally for magnates or those at court, owing perhaps to some friction between the cardinal and the king.⁴⁵¹

Beaton's most ambitious heresy prosecution before the death of James was in fact Borthwick, whose support for Henry's religious policy was aligned with evangelical sympathies which were perhaps encouraged by his kinsman Nicholas, who was studying in Wittenberg in 1528.⁴⁵² The king seems to have allowed this trial – at which the accused was notably not present – as a warning shot to the other court evangelicals; Sanderson argues that the trial was 'stage-managed ... in order to let David Beaton have his way without doing any real damage'.⁴⁵³ It is significant that none of the other court heretics – including Maxwell, Bellenden, Lindsay, and Henry Balnaves – were prosecuted.⁴⁵⁴ The trial was well-attended by magnates and prelates alike, the king being in St Andrews nearby, and the charges reflect far more concern with the 'English heresies' than with doctrinal matters. This does not reflect either ignorance of doctrinal issues on Beaton's part, or

⁴⁵¹ Sanderson, *Cardinal*, pp. 89-91.

⁴⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 84.

⁴⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 91.

⁴⁵⁴ Cameron, *James V*, p. 322.

a lack of such belief on the part of the accused, but rather it shows which crime was considered more serious by those in attendance. As Borthwick was out of the country, his image was burned, and he was forfeited on 21 June 1541.⁴⁵⁵

The charges against Borthwick have survived in their original form in the register of the St Andrews Kirk Session, which overturned the conviction in 1561.⁴⁵⁶ At some point before 1559, Borthwick wrote detailed and lengthy answers to the charges which were printed by Foxe. Because these were produced after the trial, and 'reflect the views of a man whose opinions had developed substantially', they can provide only indirect evidence for his beliefs while at court.⁴⁵⁷ The first set of accusations had to do with Borthwick's disdain for papal authority in a shocking progression. First, 'the Pope ... neither has nor can exercise any greater authority among Christians than any other bishop or priest' (1), his indulgences are not efficacious but

⁴⁵⁵ RStAKS 1.100, there is burned the 'dicti Joannis effigiem manu factam'; *ADC Public*, p. 504 for the escheat.

⁴⁵⁶ The charges were sent by someone to Edward Halle, who included them 'woorde for woorde' (did he translate them or receive them in English?) in his *The Union of the two noble and illustre famelies of Lancastre & Yorke...* (London: Richard Grafton, 1548), fols ccxlv(v)-ccxlvii(r). From Halle they were picked up by John Bale, who included them in *Scriptorum Illustru[m] maioris Brytanniae, quam nunc Angliam & Scotiam uocant....*, 2 vols (Basel: Ioannem Oporinum, 1557-59), evidently re-translating them into Latin and including the mistaken phrase 'quod Anglorum liturgia noua laudabilis sit': *ibid.*, 2.225. Foxe included what were apparently the original charges into the *Rerum in ecclesia gestarum ... Commentarii* (Basel, 1559), but he added Borthwick's replies: cited in Freeman, 'Patrick Hamilton', p. 45. These were offered in Foxe's first English edition (1563), dropped from the second and third editions (1570, 1576), and restored in the fourth edition (1583): *ibid.*, pp. 46, 50.

⁴⁵⁷ Durkan, 'Heresy', p. 338. Freeman suggests that the responses 'had probably been circulating among English Protestants for some time': 'Patrick Hamilton', p. 46.

rather deceptive (2), and the pope himself is a simoniac; moreover priests should be allowed to marry (3).⁴⁵⁸

Borthwick's response, being written later and in safety, uses even stronger language regarding the pope:

... it is euident that in the whole world ther is no man more geuen to riotte, whiche more gredely doth seeke after all kinde of delicatnes and wontones, and finally aboundeth with al kinde of vice: As treason, murder, rapine and al kinde of such euils.

Citing the 'testimonies of the scriptures', he turns to Acts 15 to show Peter participating in the Council of Jerusalem as one among equals, in which fashion, he argues, Peter opens his epistles as well.⁴⁵⁹ Further NT examples of petrine equality follow, as well as a citation of Gregory that anyone wishing to be called 'hed or vniuersall prieste or bishop ... is the forerider or predicessor of Antechrist'. Substantial, though unreferenced passages from Cyprian and Augustine are cited against the use of Mt. 16.18 to support petrine primacy.⁴⁶⁰ Peter, who had been 'amased and ouercome with the words of a litle wench' and denied Christ, was in any case not much of a foundation on which to build.

In discussing indulgences, Borthwick attacks the idea of the *thesaurum meritum*, and makes clear his evangelical position. Only 'sathan ... wolde vtterly haue the merites of Christ extinguished and blotted out, which he knoweth to be the only remedy of saluation'. Human works are never sufficient for salvation, according to 'almost infinite places in ye scripture'.⁴⁶¹

⁴⁵⁸ '... Papam ... non habere nec posse exercere aliquatenus maiorem auctoritatem in Cristianos quam quicunque alius episcopus vel sacerdos': *RStAKS*, 1.96. I have offered the numbers of the charges for reference.

⁴⁵⁹ Foxe 1563, p. 575.

⁴⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 576. The patristic citations may have been lifted from the *Unio dissidentium*.

⁴⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 577.

Nor was Paul referring to the treasury of merit in Col. 1.24 or 1 Tim. 2.10. Borthwick skips quickly past the charge of calling the pope a simoniac, adding to this that he is a 'notable deceiuer', moving to the strangely conjoined charge of favouring clerical marriage. Beginning with a standard set of scriptural citations regarding the sanctity of marriage (Heb. 13.4) and the marriage of bishops (1 Tim. 3.2), Borthwick equates the prohibition of clerical marriage with the heretical asceticism of the 'Tatianes' (Encratites).⁴⁶² Nor were the requirements of sexual abstinence placed on levitical priests relevant; after all, the apostles 'dyd not only kepe their wiues, but also caried the[m] about with them'. Borthwick's emphasis on this point comes more from his contact with the English than from other Scottish evangelicals, who, although they might have approved of clerical marriage in theory, had only seen one or two instances of it in their own country.⁴⁶³

The charges next specify Borthwick's 'English heresies'. He had expressed publicly, and urged others, that the 'greater part' of these heresies 'should be held as true and consonant with divine law' (4).⁴⁶⁴ Likewise, he had stated openly that the Scottish people were 'blinded and abused by the Scottish church and its clergy', which 'did not have the true Catholic faith'; and he had preached that 'his own faith was better and more excellent than the faith of all other churchmen in the realm of Scotland' (5).⁴⁶⁵ In accord

⁴⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 578.

⁴⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 579. Borthwick's concerns are well in line with English seriousness on this subject; see Helen L. Parish, *Clerical Marriage and the English Reformation: Precedent, Policy and Practice*, St Andrews Studies in Reformation History (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000).

⁴⁶⁴ 'Omnes hereses Anglicanas ... seu saltem earundem majorem et saniozem partem ... a Cristi fidelibus observandas tanquam veraces et divine legi conformes, quas eciam publice affirmavit, dogmatizavit...': *RStAKS*, 1.96.

⁴⁶⁵ 'Populum Scoticanum fuisse et esse omnino execatum et abusum per ecclesiam Scoticanam et ejusdem clerum quos dixit et affirmavit non habere veram fidem Catholicam

with Wyclif and Huss, Borthwick had proclaimed that 'churchmen should not own or have any temporal possessions, nor indeed have any jurisdiction or authority in temporal matters', as in England (6).⁴⁶⁶ Furthermore, he had 'applied himself in manifold ways' to persuade the king to appropriate church lands and possessions (7).⁴⁶⁷ In sum, Borthwick wished wholeheartedly that the Scottish church would come to the 'same end and ruin to which the English church has now indeed come' (8).⁴⁶⁸

Borthwick answered these charges defiantly. The 'luxurious cardinal of s. Andrewes' was like Caiaphas in stating a profundity unwittingly, in this case by calling the religion of England heretical in 1540, though it differed from Scotland only with regard to the 'yoke of Antichrist':

Idols wer worshipped of both natio[n]s, the profanating of the supper and baptime was lyke vnto them bothe, wicked superstition raigned on both partes, and true worship was deformed and defaced with detestable hipocrisie.

As for Borthwick's activity as a heresiarch, he certainly was not promoting such things as these, which were 'aduerse or repugnante' to the law of God.

For euen nowe of late, God of his goodnes and mercy had opened my daseling eies, and hath drawn me out of the filthy flow of Idolatry and superstition, in the which amongst others I haue so long time wallowed and tombled. Neither is it any les absurde, that they affirm me to haue allured many to embrace the same, except

... et predicavit fidem suam fuisse meliorem et prestanciolem quam fidem omnium aliorum ecclesiasticorum in regno Sco[cie]': *ibid.*

⁴⁶⁶ '... predicavit ecclesiasticos non debere possidere nec habere possessiones aliquas temporales, imo nec etiam habere jurisdictionem aut auctoritatem aliquam in temporalibus...': *ibid.*

⁴⁶⁷ '... et ad hoc, ut se multiplicitr [sic] ascripsit, eundem serenissimum dominum nostrum regem toto conamine suasit': *ibid.*, p. 97.

⁴⁶⁸ '... similem finem et ruinam ad quam ecclesia Anglicana jam actu pervenit': *ibid.*

peraduenture they do vnderstand that I haue oftentimes wished, that the yoke of

Antichriste shuld be shaken & caste of from the neckes of the Scots....⁴⁶⁹

With the Act of Six Articles in place, Borthwick, who must have been pretty thoroughly evangelical by 1540, could not have approved the heresies of England (apart from the denial of papal authority), but Beaton was right to refer to them as such.

To the fifth charge Borthwick answered that in fact the Scots were blinded by their clergy, favoring the 'Romish Antichriste' to the authority of Christ by, *inter alia*, claiming that Mary and Peter were the doors to salvation rather than Christ.⁴⁷⁰ The Mass was idolatrous owing to its sacrificial nature, as were images and holy water. Thus Borthwick's faith, 'which doth only behold the woorde of God' was superior to the Scots clergy.

Borthwick denied holding that the clergy should have no possessions, merely denying them temporal authority. The offices of pastor and prince are so distinct that 'they can not agree or ioyne together in one man'. Christ himself had refused to act as judge in Lk. 12.14 and Jn 8.6, and Moses occupied both offices only briefly. No bishop, 'so long as anye true face or shewe of the Church did continue', tried to take temporal jurisdiction. Borthwick mentions a proverb from the time of Ambrose of Milan, but does not comment on the saint's career in this respect. Bernard is cited for the statement that Peter could not pass on what he did not have: secular authority.⁴⁷¹

Borthwick wished that he had in fact persuaded James to despoil the clergy, who are 'fatted and engreased like Swine'. Only the ignorant would

⁴⁶⁹ Foxe 1563, p. 579. The phrase 'euen nowe of late', when combined with the past verb in the second clause 'had', seems to indicate a time before, rather than after, 1540.

⁴⁷⁰ *Ibid.* Clerical marriage is again specified by Borthwick in this context.

⁴⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 580.

'bestowe the kinges vitails' upon 'suche filthye finkes', for this would be tantamount to Jezebel's support for the priests of Baal. If Daniel and Elijah were heretics for opposing idolatry before the king, 'I graunt that I also muste be an heretike'. As for the general accusation of encouraging Scotland to follow the example of England, Borthwick believed that the Scots clergy should rather have thanked him for wishing them 'so happye a fall'.⁴⁷²

The final charges against Borthwick are more theologically oriented. Canon law has no power and is contrary to God's law (9), and 'no religion should be observed, but it should be simply abolished and destroyed' as it is in England, an article Borthwick took to refer to the despoliation of monasteries (10).⁴⁷³ Finally, he was accused of owning books condemned by papal and royal authority, particularly the New Testament in English, works by Oecolampadius, Melancthon, Erasmus, 'and of various other condemned heretics', as well as the *Unio dissidentium*. These books, which were full of heresies, Borthwick had studied privately and publicly, eventually leading some Christians from the catholic faith.⁴⁷⁴

With regard to canon law, Borthwick reveals his underlying assumption that the visible church is not the true church: 'the holye Apostolike church hathe neuer allowed, ordained, or taughte anye thyng

⁴⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 581.

⁴⁷³ *RStAKS*, p. 97. Foxe took the phrase '... habitus per eos delati asseruit eos esse deformes ad modum monstrorum nichil utilitatis aut sanctitatis pre se ferentes' to mean 'their habits and vestures are defourmed and very monstrous hauinge in them no maner of vtilyty or holines': Foxe 1563, p. 583. However, 'habitus' probably has a more general meaning here, as Borthwick did not in his reply make any particular reference to monastic vestments, apart from 'our monkes which together w[i]t[h] their cowles haue put on a thowsa[n]d snares': *ibid.*, p. 585.

⁴⁷⁴ '... specialiter et in specie, *Nouum Testamentum in vulgari Anglice impressum, Ecolampadium, Melanctonem, et diversos Erasmi et diversorum aliorum hereticorum condemnatorum, necnon, et librum Vnio Dissidencium nuncupatum*': *RStAKS*, pp. 97-98.

whyche she hathe not learned of the Lorde'. Hence laws made by the popes which are said to be 'necessary vnto euerlasting life' are 'periurye', in light of numerous passages which forbid adding to the law of God. This is reinforced by a catalogue of passages showing Levitical priests, prophets, and apostles – and even Christ himself – to have confined themselves to the word of God. Borthwick denies the contrary view, that the apostles made further regulations as necessary, such as forbidding the Gentiles meat offered to idols in Acts 15, stating that these regulations were new in the sense of a binding 'yoke'. Although the disciples had advised the Gentiles to abstain from such meat, this was simply to help them avoid offending their Jewish brethren. Likewise, when in Mt. 23.3 Jesus instructed his followers to do what those in the 'chaire of Moses' say, but not what they do, he was implying those things which were said 'by the word and not of their owne hed'.⁴⁷⁵ Borthwick's concern regarding this particular point is connected to his position on the true church. If the true church does not regulate beyond the direct command of Scripture at any point, then clearly the papacy has transgressed by introducing canon law. By the time of writing his answer, therefore, Borthwick had adopted the Scripture principle, showing himself clearly to be shaped by Reformed theology at this stage.⁴⁷⁶ However, it is possible that he rejected canon law at the time of his trial for different reasons.

The tenth charge, that Borthwick wanted religion to be abolished, referred to the despoliation of the monasteries. Borthwick offers a lengthy disclaimer that he is not referring to the sort of cenobitic life practised by Augustine and his followers. These monks, 'beinge gathered together

⁴⁷⁵ Foxe 1563, p. 583.

⁴⁷⁶ Cf. Ulrich Gäbler, *Huldrych Zwingli: His Life and Work*, trans. Ruth C.L. Gritsch (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1986), *passim*.

vtterlye contempnyng and despysinge the vanytyes of thys worlde', lived holy lives and 'wrought with their handes to get that which might sustayne the body', giving anything beyond basic sustenance to the poor. Moreover, they did not forbid meat or drink, and though they abstained from wine, the ill brother would be given some. If some objected, they would be warned 'to take hede that they became not rather the weaker then ye holier thorow their vaine supersticion'. However, contemporary monks were far different, not content with godliness as Christ commanded, but claiming that 'they are more perfect, then all other', comparing monastic confession to baptism (?), and dividing the body of Christ by 'priuate administration of the Sacramentes'. Toward the end of his response Borthwick offers traditional invective: monasteries are

... brothell houses, swine sties, and dennes of discorde, besides that I will passe ouer their Fayres and markettes, whiche in these latter dayes, they doo make of their reliques of martirs to builde vp Sodome againe....⁴⁷⁷

Since monasteries are full of 'profane ceremonies', Borthwick has wished for them to be 'vtterly extinguished and rooted out' by 'all christian princes', following the example of Josiah.⁴⁷⁸

Finally Borthwick turns to the accusation of his owning heretical books. The first item being the NT, he begins vehemently: 'O good god, who can suffer so great a blasphemy? with what a filthy cankred stomack do these Romish swine note the new testame[n]t of heresy?' This, to Borthwick, 'fill[s] vp the measure of all other heretikes'. He declines to defend Oecolampadius, Melanchthon, or Erasmus, as they are 'men of singuler lerning and eloquence, so do their writings manefestly declare' how false

⁴⁷⁷ Foxe 1563, pp. 583-84. Borthwick's reference to 'these latter dayes' places his views within the generally apocalyptic outlook of both English and Scottish Protestantism.

⁴⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 585.

these charges are.⁴⁷⁹ The official charges state that Borthwick had rebuffed friends who tried 'to return him to the holy catholic faith', but he did not know 'by what reason they cal them my frendes which so greatly laboured to conuert me'.⁴⁸⁰

By the time of his writing these answers, Borthwick's theological beliefs can be identified confidently as Reformed. General evangelical beliefs in solafideist theology and the importance of Scripture are taken for granted here, and pushed further: old works considered meritorious are idolatry, and the church should confine itself to things commanded specifically in Scripture. Mordantly anticlerical, the answers draw a sharp distinction between the true and false churches. Borthwick had, moreover, a positive plan for change: he had attempted to persuade the king to break with Rome and despoil the monasteries, he hoped for the marriage of priests, and he called for an end to secular power for prelates. The Mass was idolatrous, and although Borthwick's eucharistic thought is not defined, it is safe to assume a degree of memorialism.

As Borthwick's responses show an articulate and developed Reformed theology, their date would be of great interest; however, only spartan and uncertain temporal hints are contained within them. Borthwick had received the charges '[b]y the helpe of a certen frend of mine', and wanted to respond so that no one would think he had been overcome by fear or by his accusers' arguments.⁴⁸¹ James V is mentioned, but with no indication of whether he was alive or dead. Beaton is referred to on a number of occasions, but no reference is made to his death either, which

⁴⁷⁹ *Ibid.* It is surprising to see Erasmus, who had tutored two of James's half-brothers and had written the king to oppose Alesius, here singled out for heretical writings.

⁴⁸⁰ '... ad fidem sanctam catholicam reducere': *RStAKS*, p. 99; Foxe 1563, p. 585.

⁴⁸¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 574-75.

might suggest a date before mid-1546, when Borthwick returned to Scotland.⁴⁸² The other, perhaps contradictory hint is Borthwick's strong denunciation of the state of English religion in 1540. As he was in Henry's employ between 1543-45, he would presumably not have written so strongly against the very practices that the English king had reestablished in the Act of Six Articles (*e.g.*, he speaks against 'the profanating of the supper' in this passage, while the Act reintroduced transubstantiation). This would suggest a date either between 1540-43, when Borthwick's whereabouts are unknown, or after the accession of Edward in 1547. The intended audience would, for the earlier date, have most probably been Scots, but English for the latter. The only other potential clues for a date of composition would come from Borthwick's own sources, though the most obvious aid, Bible quotations, cannot help, as no new versions of the text of the Bible appeared between 1540-1557.⁴⁸³ The evidence is insufficient for a confident judgement, but the path of least resistance is probably the later date.

Borthwick's openness and persistence regarding the despoliation of the monasteries and the creation of a state church made him a desirable and relatively easy target for inquisition, and he did not count on the king to protect him; James's habit was to encourage recantation. After three years of obscurity, Borthwick was commended to Henry by Suffolk and Sadler as 'singularly dedicate unto the King's Majesty', on 28 Dec. 1543; the following

⁴⁸² The only possible suggestion of Beaton's death come after Borthwick has pronounced woe to false prophets: '[N]o manne canne deanye but that the Cardinall of Scotlande and his adherentes to be vnder this mooste heauye and greuous curse, when as they doo so generallie confound the Christian religion and their wicked monkery that they doo entitle them bothe by one name of holinesse': *ibid.*, p. 583. But Borthwick seems to be claiming that the Cardinal is under the curse because of present action, not that he has already faced death.

⁴⁸³ Borthwick may not have been using an English version; my attempts to locate a source have been unsuccessful. Other textual sources could probably be identified.

February he was with Suffolk in Darnton, awaiting a messenger from Lennox to give him a message for Henry. Borthwick may, therefore, have returned for the short-lived 'godly fit' of Arran, only to leave again after the turning of events late in 1543. Suffolk reported that Borthwick was eager to serve Henry, 'howbeit he is a Scot', and that he could obtain intelligence of when 'the King [Francis I?] shall be beyond sea' from his brother and other friends in France.⁴⁸⁴ By April Borthwick had been awarded a 300 crown pension, and had discussed with Suffolk ways to take Edinburgh Castle.⁴⁸⁵ Maintaining contacts north of the border, such as Gilbert, 3rd earl Cassillis, Borthwick was able in 1545 to report from Antwerp on the state of Scottish as well as continental religious affairs. This report is written in a code: the pope is a gryphon, the cardinals cranes, Christ the pelican, and as for Borthwick himself, 'I am deliberit to follow the pellicane, and be on birde callit fenix, as salbe knawin be my subsequent subscipcions; for I have beyne brint all in has [haste?] and of has returnit as I was'.⁴⁸⁶

5.1.c Henry Balnaves

'[T]he example *par excellence* in this period of a lay lawyer', Henry Balnaves, may have harboured evangelical beliefs for more than a decade before his political advancement took him to court circles.⁴⁸⁷ Calderwood claimed that Balnaves had 'profited both in the lawes and in religioun' while studying at Cologne; while Watt could not find him in the records of the university, he certainly had graduated prior to 1527, when he was registered

⁴⁸⁴ *LP Henry VIII*, 18(2).275 (no. 522), 19(1).55 (no. 103).

⁴⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 19(1).126 (no. 234), 181 (no. 283).

⁴⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 20(1).233 (no. 478), 616-7 (no. 1240) (quotation).

⁴⁸⁷ Sanderson, *Cardinal*, p. 84 (quotation). Cf. Wormald, *Court, Kirk, and Community*, p. 108.

at St Andrews as *magister*.⁴⁸⁸ He worked as a procurator in St Andrews for several years subsequently, his clients including David Beaton, then Abbot of Arbroath. By 1537 he was an advocate in the Court of Session in Edinburgh, and on 29 July 1538 was given the judicial promotion to Lord of Session, purchasing in the following year Halhill, in Fife, with his wife Christine Scheves.⁴⁸⁹ Balnaves's friendship with John Melville of Raith, 'who had alreadie some taste of the true knowledge of God' according to Calderwood, associates him with evangelical circles by the early 1530s; this friendship also secured for him the job of treasurer's clerk to James Kirkcaldy of Grange, Melville's son-in-law, by 1539. In January 1540 he first undertook diplomatic work, going to Coldstream where he and Thomas Bellenden met with William Eure to arrange mutual extraditions.⁴⁹⁰ Outside their official meeting, Bellenden discussed with Eure the possibility that James V might follow Henry VIII's lead in ecclesiastical affairs; although Balnaves is not mentioned by Eure in his report of this unofficial discussion, there is little reason to doubt that he was privy to Bellenden's intentions.

Highly competent as a judge and treasurer's clerk, Balnaves was busily employed in James's government, appearing regularly in Parliament and on various commissions from 1538-42. His theological commitments were, however, less evident initially than those of the outspoken Borthwick, apart from his associations with known evangelicals. Knox could, in any case, refer to him as 'ane old professour' when narrating the events of

⁴⁸⁸ Calderwood, *History*, 1.158; Hugh Watt, 'Henry Balnaves and the Scottish Reformation', *Records of the Scottish Church History Society* 5 (1935), 23; Anderson, *Early Records*, p. 225.

⁴⁸⁹ Sanderson, *Cardinal*, p. 26; Knox, *Works*, 3.406; *ADC Public* p. 450 (no. 2005); *RMS* 3.450 (no. 2005).

⁴⁹⁰ Calderwood, *History*, 1.158, cf. Sanderson, *Cardinal*, p. 87; *TA* 7.47; *LP Henry VIII* 15.30 (no. 94), 36 (no. 114).

1543.⁴⁹¹ Balnaves's importance would emerge during times when there was an identifiable evangelical party for which he could employ his considerable talents, as will become clear. In the court of James, however, he did provide a physical link to the days of Patrick Hamilton at St Andrews.

5.1.d Sir David Lindsay of the Mount

Among Balnaves's connections at court was Sir David Lindsay of the Mount, to whom he awarded £1,000 in 1540, evidently as a 'token of royal favor'.⁴⁹² Lindsay's well-known career as poet, playwright, and Lyon King of Arms needs little rehearsal here, but the interplay of his religion and his role at court merits consideration. Lindsay represents a broad tradition of 'vernacular humanism' which appealed to literate individuals who were unable to pursue *studia humanitatis* themselves. As Lindsay had probably not received a university education, he fits this description precisely.⁴⁹³ If his poetry and plays at court were not examples of Latin elegance, they did reflect passionate concerns for a religion shorn of superstition and for individual devotion in humanist terms that could appeal to both sides of the growing confessional divide.⁴⁹⁴ In these works, Lindsay focused his withering satirical gaze on the clergy, but often by way of literary convention, so he cannot simply be called anticlerical. But beneath the criticisms were humanist concerns for individual morality and a recapturing of the standards of the early church, particularly with regard to 'education,

⁴⁹¹ Knox, *Works*, 1.99.

⁴⁹² *ADC Public*, p. 488; Edington, *Court*, p. 170.

⁴⁹³ Edington, *Court*, pp. 13, 45. Edington's fine study will form the backbone of this discussion.

⁴⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 161-62. Max von Habsburg's forthcoming doctoral dissertation (St Andrews) shows, for example, the almost universal popularity of Thomas à Kempis's *Imitatio Christi*.

preaching, and spiritual reform'.⁴⁹⁵ His criticism of simony, purgatory, images, pilgrimages, misuse of confession, and, more radically, clerical celibacy, stood Lindsay on common ground with Borthwick in particular, and may account in part for their pairing to welcome Sadler to the Scottish court.⁴⁹⁶

Lindsay's earlier poetry, in addition to attacking the failings of the clergy, also enjoined them to fulfil their vocation, which was to preach and 'trewly vse the Sacramentis, / Efter Christis Institutionis', a reflection perhaps of the marks of the church as understood by continental Protestants.⁴⁹⁷ Prelates were enjoined to stay out of temporal government, a position generally shared by humanist and evangelical alike.⁴⁹⁸ Clearer indications of evangelical influence may be found in a reference to 'Christis trew Gospel' being unbearable to the 'proudest Prelatis of the kirk', or in the narrator of *The Dreme*'s comment that 'my hope standis most in cristis blude'.⁴⁹⁹ The latter is found in the context of a dream about Purgatory, and the narrator's intention 'neuir to cum heir agane' might be connected to this solafideist hope. However, Lindsay's 'ambivalence' on matters of theology confuses the issue: in the same passage, he affirms '[t]hat the trew kirk can no waye erre at all' (l. 348). This juxtaposition of 'largely conservative' and apparently evangelical statements makes Lindsay's personal commitments difficult to determine in the period up to 1530.⁵⁰⁰

⁴⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 151-56 (quotation p. 156).

⁴⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 159-60.

⁴⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 157, from which dates of works are taken as well. Quotation from 'The Complaynt of Schir David Lindesay' (1530), in Douglas Hamer, ed., *The Works of Sir David Lindsay of the Mount*, 4 vols (Edinburgh: Scottish Text Society, 1931-36) [hereafter *Lindsay, Works*], 1.51 (ll. 416-17).

⁴⁹⁸ E.g., *ibid.*, 1.48 (ll. 317-20, 325-31).

⁴⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 1.48 (ll. 309, 313) (former), 1.14 (l. 350) (latter, the date for which is c. 1526).

⁵⁰⁰ Edington, *Court*, p. 158.

During the 1530s, Lindsay's energies were occupied by diplomacy rather than writing, but his visits to France, the Low Countries, and particularly England seem to have made an impact upon him. Noticeable from 1540 is a shift in his work from the king's 'traditional guardianship of Haly Kirk' to the king's right to despoil church lands.⁵⁰¹ This position was articulated for the first time in the Epiphany play of 1540, also known as the 'Linlithgow Interlude'. The surviving record of this play comes from the meeting of Bellenden and Eure, and although Lindsay is not named, his authorship is all but certain.⁵⁰² The Epiphany play had been approved by the king, and performed 'before the King and Quene at Lighgive / and the hoole counsaile sprituall and temporall'.⁵⁰³ The report of the play to Eure focuses on the speech of the Poor Man, who complains of 'the greate abusion of busshopes / Prelettes / Abbottes', who harry the poor through the corspresent, consistory courts, moral turpitude, and high rents. The latter could be emended by the character of the king, who could claim the lands back 'boothe by the canon lawe / and civile lawe'. Appealing to the king to reform such abuses were a knight and burgess, representing the second and third estates; they outvoted the concerns of a bishop who represented the first estate.⁵⁰⁴ James, according to Bellenden, threatened that unless his bishops heeded these warnings, 'he wold sende sex of the proudeste of thaym vnto his vncler of england'.⁵⁰⁵

501 *Ibid.*, pp. 161-68 (quotation p. 161).

502 His authorship is accepted in *ibid.*, p. 168; in the introduction to David Lindsay, *Ane Satyre of the Thrie Estaitis*, ed Roderick Lyall (Edinburgh: Canongate Classics, 1989): x-xi; and by Douglas Hamer in Lindsay, *Works*, 2.1.

503 Lindsay, *Works*, 2.2.

504 *Ibid.*, 2.5-6.

505 *Ibid.*, 2.2.

The Epiphany play thus reflected Lindsay's continued humanist concerns, and his new advocacy for a Cromwellian settlement, even as the English secretary's career was teetering on the brink of its swift end. Doctrinal matters were not addressed, though they did feature in an anonymous poem of the time (pre-1542), 'Kitteis Confessioun'. This poem resembles Lindsay's other works in its criticism of clerical laxity and pilgrimages, and its devotion to 'Christis blude' and vernacular translation.⁵⁰⁶ However, it goes beyond his other work in its condemnation of the sacrament of penance, and its reference to the pope as antichrist predates his connection to Knox, who may have convinced him of this point. That he did not return to the denial of penance in his later works leads Edington to question whether this was in fact Lindsay's work, though she leaves the question open.⁵⁰⁷

On the basis of his early works, it is difficult to pin down Lindsay's theological positions while in James's court, and perhaps he had not formulated them with great clarity himself.⁵⁰⁸ Lindsay can certainly be called a 'vernacular humanist', though whether he can be called 'evangelical' in the strict sense is difficult to say. Edington suggests a division of 'evangelical humanists on the one hand and evangelical Protestants on the other', and employs the former sense not only for Lindsay but also for

⁵⁰⁶ Edington, *Court*, p. 170.

⁵⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 170-71. Cameron, who generally anticipates Edington's position on Lindsay, also notes that the positions in 'Kitteis Confessioun' are 'rare' for Lindsay in their 'outspoken' nature: Cameron, 'Aspects', pp. 2-5 (quotation p. 5).

⁵⁰⁸ Lindsay himself held no pretensions of theological acumen; after mentioning the incomprehensibility of the Trinity in *The Dreame*, he comments: 'Sic subtell mater I man, on neid, lat be: / To study on my Creid it war full fair, / And lat Doctouris of sic hie materis declare': Lindsay, *Works*, 1.20 (ll. 544-46).

'Erasmus's evangelical program of personal piety'.⁵⁰⁹ For the present purpose, however, the term evangelical must imply solafideist theology, and on this point Lindsay presents contradictory evidence. His references to reliance on Christ's merits, combined with disdain for superstition and advocacy of the vernacular Bible, make it tempting to associate him with justification by faith alone, but comments in his later work *The Monarchie* seem to contradict this.⁵¹⁰ Lindsay must have welcomed the agreement concerning reforms he found in his solafideist associates Balnaves and Borthwick, and his choice of words may have been influenced by theological positions which they held with far greater precision than he. In any case Lindsay was a friend and associate of the court evangelicals, with greater access to the king than most.

5.1.e An evangelical party?

The presence of these men at court, along with others for whom there is less theological evidence (such as James Kirkcaldy of Grange, David Borthwick, and Lord Maxwell), or indeed those humanists who were just developing evangelical views (such as George Buchanan), had at first glance little effect on royal policy.⁵¹¹ Church lands were not appropriated, prelates

509 Edington, *Court*, pp. 44-45. Edington's broad use of 'evangelical' appears to connect calls for the reform of abuses to personal piety, a sort of *Herzenreligion*, rather than to solafideist theology. In this respect she is consistent in attaching the term to both Lindsay and Erasmus. However, this use of the term presents problems: Thomas More and William Tyndale could presumably have shared the descriptor in spite of their studied conflict. Edington's use of 'Protestant' seems to imply belief in justification by faith alone. On Lindsay's overall position see also Kirk, 'Religion', p. 386. In his study of Cambridge University, Rex argues that "evangelical" is not a synonym for 'Erasmian': Rex, 'Early Impact', p. 71.

510 *Ibid.*, pp. 190-91.

511 Buchanan may have been more advanced in his theological positions at the time: Kirk, 'Religion', pp. 383-84.

were not forced to preach, the vernacular Bible was not authorised, and the king continued to send out conflicting religious signals. However, at a subtler level their presence near the king conferred a '*de facto* acceptability' on their ideas.⁵¹² This acceptability was perhaps made ironically stronger by the continued presence of Balnaves, Bellenden, and Lindsay at court after the Borthwick trial. Whether these individuals comprised an evangelical party is debatable, though there does seem to have been concerted effort behind the Epiphany play; in any case they had sufficient unanimity of purpose among them to be a 'source of frustration' to the country's new cardinal.⁵¹³ If their influence cannot be measured, the court evangelicals nevertheless enjoyed a public forum for their ideas which would disappear after the death of the king in 1542 and the departure of the infant queen; the lack of a court dealt a blow to the evangelical cause at the national level from which it would not recover for more than a decade.⁵¹⁴

Knox reports a 'Scroll', compiled by Beaton in Nov. 1542, 'conteanyng the names of such as thei, in thare inquisitioun, had convict for Heretickis', and if it is genuine, this list would suggest that the cardinal was trying to disrupt an identifiable party.⁵¹⁵ A similar list, Knox claims, had been presented to the king the year before, but he was convinced by James Kirkcaldy of Grange to refuse it, threatening to reform the prelates 'by scharpe whingar'is' if they tried again to drive a wedge between him and his

⁵¹² Sanderson, *Cardinal*, p. 87.

⁵¹³ *Ibid.* (quotation); Edington, *Court*, pp. 49-55.

⁵¹⁴ Michael Lynch, 'Minister and Commissioner of the Kirk', in Roger A. Mason, ed., *John Knox and the British Reformations*, St Andrews Studies in Reformation History (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998), pp. xxx.

⁵¹⁵ Knox, *Works*, 1.81.

nobility.⁵¹⁶ However, this time the king put the list 'into his awin pocket, whare it remaned to the day of his death'; it was found to contain over 100 'landed men' including Arran, along with some 'of meaner degree'.⁵¹⁷ This list is not mentioned by other sixteenth-century chroniclers, and it only receives mention officially in 1543, when Arran, now governor, was negotiating with Henry through Sadler. Sadler never saw the list, but Arran told him that it contained 'eighteen score' names, with his own at the top.⁵¹⁸ This mysterious and unsubstantiated list is rightly called into question by James's most recent biographer, though perhaps his judgement that it was 'an ephemeral creation' of Arran's is peremptory.⁵¹⁹ Perhaps the most telling fact about this blacklist is that Sadler appears to have found it believable, which indicates that he could conceive, at least generally, of the evangelicals as a group.

5.2 Royal policy

If Lindsay's theological leanings were ambiguous, he was in this respect no different from the king. James V shifted his religious posture to pursue his own advantage in several situations. In his correspondence with popes and cardinals, James generally trumpeted his and his country's pristine orthodoxy, particularly by contrast with England.⁵²⁰ But he could also cite the English or German situation as an imminent threat to Scotland's loyalty to Rome, when he thought this would be more persuasive.⁵²¹ The

⁵¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 1.82-83. James refers to the reformations in Denmark and England in this passage.

⁵¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 1.84.

⁵¹⁸ Citation from Sadler in *ibid.*, 1.84 n. 3; Cameron, *James V*, pp. 294-95.

⁵¹⁹ Cameron, *James V*, p. 296.

⁵²⁰ *James V Letters*, pp. 161, 174, 307, 327, 424. The same theme is found in a letter on p. 134, but this was written, no doubt by advisors, when James was still in his minority.

⁵²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 163, 183, 307, 421.

same vacillation held true for James's relations with his uncle. Henry hoped to convince James to follow his religious lead, both to gain an ally and to allay his fears of a French invasion from the north, and the Scots king reacted with both orthodox disdain and suggestive interest.⁵²² It is instructive that the high point of this negotiation – Henry's progress north to York in Aug. 1541, where he would stay for over a month – did not result in an actual meeting, as James went on his own progress north in Scotland, sending Henry some hawks from Aberdeen with a 'cheeky' letter.⁵²³

Understandably, Wharton reported that this 'grayteth' the court evangelicals and some of the nobles, who were hoping that the meeting might convince James to adopt a Henrician religious policy. Bellenden, who had suggested the meeting to Henry, continued in spite of James's absence to report 'nobly' of his king's intentions.⁵²⁴

Knox reported that the king 'had maid a solempned vow, That none should be spaired that was suspect of Heresye, yea, althought it ar his awin sone'.⁵²⁵ This appears in Knox's history between 1539-40, at a time when James was sending spectacularly mixed signals regarding his religious policy, and there is little reason to attach great weight to the claim.

However, some of James's inherent orthodoxy may be revealed from the parliamentary Acts of 14 March 1540/1. Several acts addressed religion, the first 'To ye Confusioun[e] of all heresy yat all ye sacrame[n]tis be haldin and honourit as yai haue bene In all tymes bygane w[i]t[h]in yis realme'. A second act enjoins 'worschip to be had To ye virgin mary' and the other saints, and underlines the intent of the Scottish government to resist 'ye

⁵²² LP Henry VIII 10(1). 172 (no. 427); Cameron, *James V*, pp. 286-88.

⁵²³ *Ibid.*, pp. 288-90 (quotation p. 290).

⁵²⁴ LP Henry VIII, 16.539 (no. 1143).

⁵²⁵ Knox, *Works*, 1.66-67.

In myis of ye faith catholik'. Another stipulated 'That na maner of persoun[e] Argvn[e] nor Impung ye papis autorite vnder ye pane of deid And confiscatioun[e] of all yare gudis movable and vnmovable', while a fourth called for reformation of abuses among the 'kirkmen[n]'. Finally, in direct action against the evangelicals, 'That na p[ri]vate co[n]uention[n]is be maid to desput on[n] ye scripto[u]r', and that none should associate with or lend aid to a heretic.⁵²⁶

These acts show a decidedly conservative agenda, and show what the policy-makers considered most troubling at the time. The broad first article may reflect less public interest in penance, or perhaps decreased attendance at Mass, though it does not reveal a specific target; the second act likewise shows general concern over some slippage of traditional practice with regard to the saints. Far more specific are the prohibitions on the denial of papal authority, which must reflect discussion and criticism similar to Borthwick's, and on conventicles. The call for internal reform would be followed by the same in the three provincial councils, and shows official alarm at the state of the clergy. That James should have seen these acts through at the time may owe something to Beaton's influence, as the Cardinal sat with the Lords of Articles beforehand to draft the legislation – though he would also find himself being charged £700 by the same Parliament in unpaid taxes for the College of Justice.⁵²⁷ Perhaps unintentionally, the acts also upstaged Henry's recent Act of Six Articles, a strongly conservative policy shift which nevertheless did not affirm papal authority.⁵²⁸

⁵²⁶ APS 2.370. On the same day James wrote to Paul III requesting a legatine commission: *James V Letters*, p. 421.

⁵²⁷ Sanderson, *Cardinal*, p. 149.

⁵²⁸ The only general overlap is on the sacraments, though the Six Articles are more specific by singling out belief in transubstantiation, communion under one kind, private

While this Parliament shows James's theological tendencies to be conservative, it did not prevent him from flirting with the meeting with Henry in York five months later. Moreover, in the acts from March 1541, 'James' religious policy was summed up ...: declarations against heresy and proposals to fund the Household from spiritual taxation'.⁵²⁹ The latter move illustrates why James ultimately did not take his uncle's radical step: he already had access to the wealth of the church. The annual tax on the spirituality for the College of Justice provided steady income for the crown, and '[f]or the First Estate, there was really no alternative to paying up, given the activities of Henry VIII': '[w]hether or not they liked him, the First Estate needed their king more than he needed them'. Not only did he receive the annual tax; James also placed his illegitimate sons in rich church positions, having arranged for a dispensation for them to 'receive the tonsure' at age six.⁵³⁰ A despoliation of church riches would involve more sharing of the wealth than was necessary. James ultimately opted for the *status quo*, and finally came into open conflict with his southern neighbour at Solway Moss.

5.3 The Henrician experiment of 1543

James's death on 14 Dec. 1542 brought yet another minor to the throne, and with her, predictably, a power struggle. Beaton and Arran jockeyed for position, the former eventually producing a deathbed will from the king naming him one of four regents, but Arran managed to trump his opponent with a small council which appointed him sole governor on 3 Jan. 1543. Beaton was made chancellor, according to Sanderson perhaps in

masses, and auricular confession: text in Carter Lindberg, ed., *The European Reformations Sourcebook* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2000): p. 224.

⁵²⁹ Cameron, *James V*, p. 289.

⁵³⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 260-61.

exchange for the will, which has survived in the Hamilton family papers.⁵³¹ However, by 27 Jan., the anglophile faction had consolidated enough power to have Beaton arrested for complicity with France, and Scotland's diplomatic and religious positions were suddenly open to change.⁵³² The evangelicals among them hoped that the new governor was, as he appeared, a 'trew gospeller'.⁵³³

5.3.a The Anglophiles

If the evangelicals at court had remained in the shadows before James's death, they now emerged forcefully as a group. Henry Balnaves, in particular, emerged as the diplomatic representative for the government, and was soon involved in marriage negotiations with Henry VIII. Kirkcaldy of Grange and Thomas Bellenden, likewise, held positions under the regent. A clear policy for the Arran government in its first months was the marriage treaty between Mary and the Prince of Wales, which Balnaves pursued doggedly.⁵³⁴ This connection to the English has labelled Balnaves and his colleagues as 'anglophiles', a useful designation which nevertheless requires some qualification with regard to theological concerns.

'Anglophile' must first be qualified by its context. The Act of Six Articles had been in place for nearly four years in England, and by the spring of 1543 Henry added the Act for the Advancement of True Religion, which

⁵³¹ Sanderson, *Cardinal*, pp. 153-58. The will is a confusing document. Its omission of Arran was of course convenient for Beaton, and Knox was not the only one to believe that the Cardinal had gotten the dying king to sign a blank piece of paper, later filling it in: Knox, *Works*, pp. 91-92. Moreover, the credentials of the presiding notary were called into question. On the other hand, Arran seems genuinely to have been worried by the document, which had been signed by several witnesses not among Beaton's friends.

⁵³² *Ibid.*, p. 158.

⁵³³ James Melville, *Memoirs of His Own Life by Sir James Melville of Halhill*, ed Thomas Thomson, Bannatyne Club vol. 18 (Edinburgh: Bannatyne Club, 1827): p. 71.

⁵³⁴ *LP Henry VIII*, 18(1).454 (no. 804)*et passim*.

forbade Bible-reading for all but nobles and scholars; the highly conservative 'King's Book' was published the same year. When Balnaves and the other evangelicals advocated an English alliance and religious settlement, they no doubt saw these as a step in the right direction, but the English religious situation of 1543 could not have been their goal. Three years earlier, Borthwick had been able to urge the king and others to follow the English in appropriating ecclesiastical lands, but he clearly did not approve of the general state of the English church. Hence the court evangelicals' advocacy of the English cause stemmed from religious concerns, seeing them as a useful compromise. In this respect anglophilism was not love for English religion as it stood *simpliciter*, but a preference for the Henrician settlement over the *status quo* in Scotland.

The English government seems to have realised this as well, and it was slow to accept some of the anglophiles. Borthwick was commended to Henry in 1544 with the caveat 'howbeit he is a Scot'.⁵³⁵ Balnaves, having concluded the marriage treaty, was nevertheless not made aware of a secret assurance of loyalty to Henry signed by Glencairn, Douglas, and Leirmonth; nor did its proposed council for Arran include the new Secretary of State. This was 'because the King has not found [him] in all things so well disposed', a cryptic remark which suggests that Balnaves disagreed with parts of Henry's policy, probably his religious policy.⁵³⁶

It is useful to refer to an anglophile party behind Arran's early government, particularly by contrast with those who supported the 'auld alliance' with France, but the evangelicals thus occupied were mostly interested in a religious settlement that was better than nothing. They were

⁵³⁵ *Ibid.*, 19(1).55 (no. 103).

⁵³⁶ *Ibid.*, 18(1).471 (no. 834). Cf. *ibid.*, 18(2).274 (no. 521), in which Balnaves is not considered one of the 'King's prisoners'.

committed enough to this settlement not to abandon their advocacy of English alliance after the immense reversals from the Protestant high point under Cromwell up to 1540. But their religious commitments prevented them from full support for the English programme, which left some tension between them and Henry.

5.3.b The 'godly fit'

The events of Arran's early regency are well-known.⁵³⁷ The brief 'godly fit' found the young governor attempting to win English support for his regency against Beaton, primarily through the marriage treaty, but also by pursuing a religious policy that seemed headed in the direction of a nationalised church. First, Arran was persuaded by 'godly men' to commission two travelling preachers, the ex-friars Thomas Gwilliam (Guillaume) and John Rough, along with others. Knox reported that Gwilliam had

solid judgement, [and] reassonable letteris, (as for that age,) and a prompt and good utterance: his doctrine was holsome, without great vehemency against superstitioun.

Rough, not as learned as his colleague, was nevertheless 'more vehement against all impietie'.⁵³⁸ Presumably the 'holsome' doctrine held by these men was solafideism; Rough appears to have drawn more stark conclusions from this teaching than Gwilliam. Certainly the two can be called evangelical.

Likewise, Arran appointed prominent evangelicals to governmental posts. Henry Balnaves was made secretary of state, which may have roused

⁵³⁷ Donaldson's account is succinct and measured: Gordon Donaldson, *Scotland: James V-James VII*, vol. 3 of *The Edinburgh History of Scotland*, 4 vols (Edinburgh: Mercat Press, 1965, repr. 1994): pp. 64-69. Sanderson's account fills out details from Beaton's involvement: Sanderson, *Cardinal*, pp. 160-70.

⁵³⁸ Knox, *Works*, 1.95-96.

hopes among the anglophiles that they now had their own Cromwell.⁵³⁹ A more personal touch was the presence of Patrick Hamilton's daughter Isobel as a lady-in-waiting to Arran's wife. While the presence of a perhaps fifteen-year-old orphaned relative with her higher-ranking kin is not surprising, Arran made sure her father's identity was specified in the accounts, as if to ensure that the connection to his new religious policy was obvious. In April and May, sizeable disbursements were made for new clothing for the Isobel, which must have ensured good feelings from those who had known her martyred father.⁵⁴⁰ It certainly gave the impression of a reversal of fortune for the evangelical cause. In communicating with Sadler, Arran likewise made it clear that he was interested in nationalising the church, noting that he was first on Beaton's blacklist and that he had, for five years, believed the pope to be only a bishop, 'and that a very evil bishop'.⁵⁴¹

However, only one legislative action confirmed Arran's policies, an Act of Parliament from 15 March 1543 which stated that

It salbe lefull to all o[ur] souirane ladyis lieges to haif ye haly write bait[h] ye new testame[n]t and ye auld in ye vulgar tounge In Inglis or scottis of ane gude and trew translatioun[n] and y[a]t yai sall Incur na crimes for ye hefing or reding of ye sami[n].⁵⁴²

This had been moved by Lord Maxwell, suspected of harbouring evangelical sentiment, and Lord Ruthven and Balnaves argued in favour of it. Contested by the first estate, the ensuing debate developed along conventional lines. Supporters asked why translation was not allowed, given that Latin, Greek, and Hebrew were vernaculars for the early church; it was answered that

⁵³⁹ James Drummond, however, was the preferred candidate of the English Privy Council: *LP Henry VIII* 18(1).182 (no. 324).

⁵⁴⁰ *TA* 8.174-75, 183, 187-88.

⁵⁴¹ *LP Henry VIII* 18(1).183 (no. 324).

⁵⁴² *APS* 2.415.

only these three were permitted. The supporters responded that Chrysostom had called for vernacular translation; they were answered that this was to be in Greek. The clincher was from the Great Commission: if the gospel were to be preached to all nations, surely it should be translated; opponents of the measure conceded this point 'providit that the translation war trew'. Supporters of the bill asked what was amiss, indicating that a particular version was being considered; they were answered that 'charity' had been rendered 'love', a reflection of the fact that the translation at hand was of the Tyndale lineage. The difference between these words could not be articulated, and the measure was passed, though Gavin Douglas indicated the disapproval of the clergy, and their intent to discuss the issue at a provincial council.⁵⁴³

This Act was seen as 'no small victorie of Christ Jesus' and 'not small conforte to such as befor war holdin in such bondage', though Knox notes that it led to dissimulation among those trying to curry favour with the Governor, now 'esteamed ... to have bein the most fervent Protestand that was in Europa': Bibles could now be found 'lying almaist upoun everie gentilmanis table', and NTs were 'borne about in many manis handes'.

We grant, that some (alace!) prophaned that blessed wourd; for some that, perchance, had never red ten sentences in it, had it maist common in thare hand; thei wold chope thare familiares on the cheak with it, and say, "This hes lyne hyd under my bed-feitt these ten yearis." Otheris wold glorie, "O! how oft have I bein in danger for this booke: How secreatlie have I stollen fra my wyff at mydnycht to reid upoun it."⁵⁴⁴

⁵⁴³ *Ibid.* (Douglas's response); Knox, *Works*, 98-99 (narration). The Act was quickly disseminated: TA 8.178-79.

⁵⁴⁴ Knox, *Works*, 1.100-101.

The number of Bible and NTs suggested here surely reflects Knox at his hyperbolic best, but it is clear that many Scots had copies before the Act, which had to be kept secret.

The evangelicals could not have been fully satisfied with the Act, however, given its second clause: 'Prouidi[n]g alwayis yat na ma[n] despute or hald oppunzeonis vnd[ir] ye panis [con]tenit In ye act[is] of p[ar]liame[n]t'.⁵⁴⁵ Heretical interpretations of the Bible were still absolutely forbidden. This broad qualification maintained the spirit of the 1541 Act forbidding conventicles, and as the Council of Trent had not yet convened, there was little in the 1543 Act to alarm Rome. Indeed, in the same session, Parliament made slight changes to previous heresy legislation rather than eliminating it.⁵⁴⁶ In its legal development, therefore, the 'godly fit' went little further than Henry's post-Six Articles policy, aside from allowing Bible-reading to a broader public.⁵⁴⁷

5.3.c The reversal

The 'godly fit' did not last long. Arran's reversal of policy in the following months reveals not only his own 'supremely malleable' nature, but also the fact that the real driving force behind the 'godly fit' had been the evangelicals: it was 'their experiment rather than his'.⁵⁴⁸ To Knox, the

⁵⁴⁵ APS 2.415.

⁵⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, items 10-11. The first Act added to the previous legislation that abjured heretics could only be admitted to public office by dispensation of the queen; the second added that supplication could only be made for heretics for 'reducioun[n] of yaim to pene[n]ce and to ye bosum of halikirk'. If these qualifications relaxed the standards, they did so only slightly.

⁵⁴⁷ Donaldson, *Scotland*, p. 65.

⁵⁴⁸ Carol Edington, 'John Knox and the Castilians: A Crucible of Reforming Opinion?', in Roger A. Mason, ed., *John Knox and the British Reformations*, St Andrews Studies in Reformation History (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998): pp. 29-50 (p. 33 first quotation); Sanderson, *Cardinal*, pp. 154, 161 (second quotation).

primary reasons for Arran's change of policy were the return to Scotland of his half-brother John Hamilton, Abbot of Paisley, who enjoined him to remain loyal to France and Rome, and the increasing return to power of David Beaton.⁵⁴⁹ Arran's first indication of a change in policy was the inhibition of Gwilliam and Rough in mid-April; this was probably at the urging of his half-brother, who no doubt pointed out that Arran's questionable legitimacy could be challenged by the papacy and ultimately remove him from power, so he should certainly not be sponsoring evangelical preaching.⁵⁵⁰ Beaton was transferred at the end of March from his imprisonment in Blackness Castle to his own residence at St Andrews, and soon had his freedom of movement; in April, while Balnaves and others negotiated the marriage contract in London, he began to regroup.⁵⁵¹

On 2 June, the privy council had expressed its concern over 'sclanderous billis, writtingis, ballatis and bukis that ar dalie maid, written and prentit to the diffamatioun of all estatis baith sperituale and temporale', including the mysterious 'pascullis and the ballait callit the bair'; they commanded printers and owners to burn any such books. But the council was also concerned about 'sacramentaris', and forbade anyone to 'disput or

⁵⁴⁹ Knox, *Works*, 1.105-108; Sadler agreed: *LP Henry VIII* 18(1).268 (no. 448). The complexities of Arran's early regency go far beyond religious policy, including relations with France, the involvement of rival Douglas and Lennox factions, and Arran's dynastic ambitions; for the present purpose, only the religious policy shift will be considered.

⁵⁵⁰ Knox, *Works*, 1.105-108; *LP Henry VIII* 18(1).267 (no. 448); Sanderson, *Cardinal*, pp. 165-66.

⁵⁵¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 163-64. A detailed if enigmatic discussion of Arran's early negotiations with Henry may be found in David Byrd Franklin, *The Scottish Regency of the Earl of Arran: A Study in the Failure of Anglo-Scottish Relations*, Studies in British History vol. 35 (Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen, 1995). Franklin argues that Arran's 'insincerity and vacillation' were used to great advantage in negotiations with Henry, allowing the governor to achieve his 'major goal ...[:] the preservation of Scottish independence': *ibid.*, p. 18.

hald openionis of the sacramentis nor of the affect or assence thair of
 utherwayis nor is ellis ressavit be the haly kirk'.⁵⁵² By mid-July, when the
 negotiators returned, a French fleet had arrived, and the Cardinal and
 several nobles were besieging the queen and Mary of Guise in Linlithgow.
 Balnaves was dispatched with Rothes and others to negotiate; some of the
 machinery of the initial religious policy was still in place.⁵⁵³ After a gradual
 thawing of relations, however, Arran would reach a *rapprochement* with the
 Cardinal, in early September renouncing heresy and promising to uphold
 the monasteries.⁵⁵⁴

By this time, Knox reports, '[a]ll honest and godly men' had been
 'banished from the Courte', as the Cardinal, now at the apex of his power,
 pursued his former opponents. In November, the Earl of Rothes, Lord Grey,
 and Balnaves were summoned to the Governor in Dundee, only to be
 arrested and imprisoned.⁵⁵⁵ Crichton of Brunston reported that the Cardinal
 wished to have custody of the former secretary himself, 'because he loved
 him worst of all', but Balnaves was in the event put into Blackness. While
 the English Privy Council would instruct Huntly in December to work for
 the release of noblemen from prison, it did not consider Balnaves or Rothes
 to be 'the King's prisoners'.⁵⁵⁶ In spite of the Cardinal's disfavour, Balnaves
 would be released sometime the following spring; by Nov. 1544 he was back

⁵⁵² ADC *Public*, pp. 527-28.

⁵⁵³ LP *Henry VIII* 18(1).505 (no. 938). There was little rest for the secretary, who had
 only returned from London to Edinburgh the day before being sent to Linlithgow.

⁵⁵⁴ Sanderson, *Cardinal*, pp. 168-70.

⁵⁵⁵ Knox, *Works*, 1.107, 114-16.

⁵⁵⁶ LP *Henry VIII* 18(2).226 (no. 425) (first quotation), 274 (no. 521) (second quotation).

in Parliament, and by June 1545 had returned to his position as one of the 'lordis of the sait'.⁵⁵⁷

With the imprisonment of these individuals (along with seven from Dundee, accused of damaging the friary), the 'godly fit' was almost completely reversed.⁵⁵⁸ Arran had recanted, the evangelical preachers had been inhibited, the court evangelicals were dispersed and some imprisoned. In December 1543, Parliament nearly completed the reversal, declaring the marriage treaty void, and calling on the prelates to make inquisition into reports that 'heretikis mair & mair risis and spredis w[i]t[h]in yis realme sawand dampnable opinionis Inco[n]trar ye fayth & lawis of halykirk', promising that the Governor would do 'his office' with respect to temporal authority.⁵⁵⁹ One aspect of the Henrician experiment, however, survived: the vernacular Bible was still legal, evidently because its prohibition of heretical interpretation and discussion could be useful: and indeed this Act was invoked against those tried in Perth in the following month.⁵⁶⁰

5.4 Henry Balnaves's *Treatise on Justification*

With the reversal of the 'godly fit', the decline of the court during the minority of Mary, and the resurgence of Beaton's influence, the court evangelicals returned to less exalted positions of influence. However, to round out the present discussion, the theological understanding and sophistication of one of the court evangelicals can be examined from a lengthy theological treatise he penned five years after the Henrician experiment came to an end. Henry Balnaves cast his lot with the anglophile and evangelical parties again in 1546, as he joined the castilians after the

⁵⁵⁷ TA 8.276 (24 March 1544 messenger boy paid for carrying message to Balnaves in Blackness), 300 (4 June 1544 boy paid for carrying message to HB in Halhill); 384 (quotation).

⁵⁵⁸ LP Henry VIII 18(2).226 (no. 425).

⁵⁵⁹ APS 2.431-32, 443 (quotations).

⁵⁶⁰ Foxe, A&M (1583), p. 1267.

murder of Cardinal Beaton, probably sometime in August or September.⁵⁶¹

After the fall of the castle, Balnaves, imprisoned in Rouen,

... was most sharplie assaulted of all; for becaus he was judged learned, (as he was, and is, in deid,) tharefoir learned men war appointed to trawall with him, with whome he had many conflictes; but God so ever assisted him, that thei departed confounded, and he, by the power of Goddis Spreit, remaned constant in the trewth and profession of the same, without any wavering or declynyng to idolatrie.⁵⁶²

Prison inquisition was not uncommon; William Tyndale had likewise debated English Dominican Robert Buckenham and others while incarcerated at Vilvorde. How Balnaves avoided the stake is unclear, but like Tyndale and other English Protestant prisoners of the time, he wrote in support of his theological opinions from his cell. Balnaves's lengthy *Treatise on Justification* was intended, like many early modern prison writings, to encourage coreligionists facing persecution, and to this end he managed to send it to Knox when the latter's galley was docked in Rouen.⁵⁶³

Dispatching a lengthy, heretical manuscript from a prison cell to a galley must have been difficult, but many similar cases of composition and posting from prison can be found a few years later, among Mary Tudor's Protestant captives like Ridley and Grindal. Lengthy works 'flowed in and out of various prisons', helped by jailors who could be bribed or servants coming

⁵⁶¹ Knox, *Works*, 3.409.

⁵⁶² *Ibid.*, 1.226. Other Scots prisoners were enjoined to attend Mass, but refused; some likewise refused to kiss an image of Mary: *ibid.*, 1.225-27.

⁵⁶³ *Ibid.*, 1.226-27; 3.8. Perhaps reflecting his experience, he hoped that his tract would assist readers in giving 'coumpt and reaking to all which aske of us any question of our faith': *ibid.*, 3.449.

and going.⁵⁶⁴ Knox also corresponded with other castilian prisoners regarding the question of whether they could justifiably escape.⁵⁶⁵

5.4.a Composition, editing, and publication

Knox received the work and read through it twice, adding chapter divisions, marginal notes, and an 'Epitome'.⁵⁶⁶ The work was then forwarded, either to other prisoners, or to fellow-evangelicals in Scotland; Knox's ship went to Scotland twice during his imprisonment, so he could have sent it to shore with relative ease.⁵⁶⁷ However, by 1566 the whereabouts of the manuscript were unknown; Knox wondered 'how it is suppressed' in his *History*.⁵⁶⁸ It finally resurfaced in 1584, when Richard Bannatyne, visiting Ormiston, found it 'in the hands of a child, as it were serving to the childe to playe him with'; it was then published in Edinburgh by Thomas Vautrollier under the title *The confession of Faith, conteining how the troubled man should seeke refuge at his God*.⁵⁶⁹

This unusual publication history must raise questions about the status of the text. Given the thirty-six years between composition and printing, and Vautrollier's odd account of the recovery of the manuscript, the first question is whether the text is genuine. Vautrollier might, after all, have seen the names Balnaves and Knox as good for sales, and simply attached them to another text. However, the epistle dedicatory was to Alison

⁵⁶⁴ Daniell, *Tyndale*, pp. 375-80; Thomas S. Freeman, "'Great searching out of bookes and autors': John Foxe as an Ecclesiastical Historian", Ph.D. dissertation (Rutgers University, 1995): 367-375 (quotation p. 368).

⁵⁶⁵ Knox, *Works*, 1.228-29. These were imprisoned in Mont St Michel.

⁵⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 3.8-9.

⁵⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 1.228; he addressed it to 'his best beloved Brethren of the Congregation of the Castle of St Andrewes, and to all Professours of Christs true Evangell': *ibid.*, 3.5.

⁵⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 1.227.

⁵⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 3.434. Following common practice, the volume will be referred to here as the *Treatise on Justification*.

Sandilands of Ormiston, who would surely have known of the discovery in her own town; the basic story cannot have been a complete fabrication. A second question is whether the text was significantly altered. In May 1584, the 'Black Acts' were passed, in which the king was given authority 'over all statis alsweill spirituall as temporall within this realme', and the presbyterian party was outraged.⁵⁷⁰ With its clear, Luther-influenced vision of 'two regiments', Balnaves's *Treatise* might have served to bolster opposition to the (Stewart) Arran government's imposition of Erastian standards. However, this seems to have been coincidental: the Lutheran separation of regiments was a well-worn idea which had frequently been attached to lists of vocations; moreover, Vautrollier would go on to print the pro-Black Acts volume *Declaratioun of the Kings ... intentioun ... toward the lait actis* the following year.⁵⁷¹

On balance, there is little reason to doubt the basic authenticity of the text of the *Treatise*, and it certainly reads more like a tract from the 1540s than the 1580s. One significant change was made, however: the language. A brief perusal of Balnaves's letters to English recipients shows him consistently to employ Scots spelling conventions during the 1540s-50s, but the printed *Treatise* is thoroughly anglicised.⁵⁷² The original must, therefore, have been translated; but from what language? Both Balnaves and Knox

⁵⁷⁰ David George Mullan, *Episcopacy in Scotland: The History of an Idea, 1560-1638* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1986): pp. 56-58.

⁵⁷¹ The book declared the king to be the 'Bishop of Bishops, and universall Bishop within his Realm': cited in *ibid.*, p. 59. On this printer, see W.R. LeFanu, 'Thomas Vautrollier, printer and bookseller', *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society* (1959): 12-25.

⁵⁷² This must affect the usefulness of the *Treatise* as a gauge of the changing linguistic features of Scots at the time, as in Amy J. Devitt, *Standardizing written English: diffusion in the case of Scotland, 1520-1659* (Cambridge: CUP, 1989), particularly in light of the fact that Vautrollier also published works in Scots. The *Treatise* as published is simply not written in Scots, and it cannot serve as a measure of the shifting features of the language.

were capable in Latin, but in all likelihood a work intended for the 'instruction of the simple' would have been written in Scots.⁵⁷³ Moreover, Scriptural quotations in the *Treatise*, clearly from the Vulgate, often offer multiple English words for one Latin term; as this pattern of translation does not hold for the rest of the prose, it may be assumed that the original was in Scots rather than Latin.⁵⁷⁴

Assuming, then, that the text of the *Treatise* as printed reflected a close anglicisation of the manuscript original, one further textual question arises: what exactly was Knox's role as editor? Knox's introductory epistle states:

I thought it expedient it should be digested in chapters; and to the better memory of the Reader, the contents of every chapter proponed briefly unto them, with certaine annotations, to the more instruction of the simple, in the margent. And also that an Epitome of the same work should be shortly collected ... not so much to illustrate the Worke, (which in the selfe is godly and perfite) as, together with the foresaide noble man and faithfull Brother, to give my Confession of the article of Justification therein contained.⁵⁷⁵

Most of this work may be termed 'paratextual'; it was written to the side of, or at the end of the manuscript, and did not alter the original, which Knox considered 'in the selfe ... godly and perfite'. However, Knox states that he wants to give his confession 'together with' Balnaves, and in the *History* he refers to a 'Confessioun of his fayth' written in the galley, 'conteanyng the some of his doctrin'. Watt believed that these were in fact the same document, which led him to suggest that Knox had edited an earlier draft

⁵⁷³ Knox, *Works*, 3.9. While this quotation referred to Knox's annotations, its force still reflects the work as a whole.

⁵⁷⁴ Hugh Watt, 'Henry Balnaves and the Scottish Reformation', *RSCHS* 5 (1935): 23-39 (pp. 34-35).

⁵⁷⁵ Knox, *Works*, 3.8-9. Two of the marginal notes were misprinted, as Heb. 11 was mistaken for Heb. 2: *ibid.*, pp. 478, 480.

more fully.⁵⁷⁶ The former suggestion is appealing, but has difficulties. Knox claims that his treatise answered some of Friar Arbuckle's questions, such as the existence of Purgatory – but Purgatory only receives a passing mention in Balnaves's *Treatise*.⁵⁷⁷ Further, Knox does not himself equate the two. Nothing else is known of Knox's treatise.

It is improbable that Knox edited Balnaves's work more extensively than he claims, as his marginal notes demonstrate. Often, these attempt to clarify or interpret the text, which indicates that Knox had not changed the body of the *Treatise* itself. For example, Balnaves mentions that Adam 'hoped victory against the Devill', but Knox's note 'This victorie sall we obtain in the generall resurrection', goes well beyond the text. Likewise, Balnaves's comment on Gen. 3, 'The Devill perceaving the woman voide and without faith, love, and feare of God', is developed in a marginal note by Knox: 'That is, Sathan, after he perceaved the woman doubt of the faith and verity of Godis word, durst affirme the contrarie, saying, "Though ye eate of the tree ye shall not die;" whereto the woman giving credit, transgressed Godis command; and so to doubt of Godis promiss is rute of all wickidnesse'.⁵⁷⁸ Occasionally, Knox sharpens a polemical barb in his chapter summaries; Balnaves's 'wicked and ungodly pastors' become Knox's 'pestilent Papisticall preists', and Knox's 'Papisticall church' narrows Balnaves's 'church of Christ'.⁵⁷⁹ It seems wise to follow Knox's own account of his involvement, and give credit for the work to Balnaves.

5.4.b Sources for the *Treatise on Justification*

⁵⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 1.200; Watt, 'Balnaves', pp. 28-29. Edington disagrees: Edington, 'Castilians', pp. 42-43.

⁵⁷⁷ Knox, *Works*, 1.200; 3.519.

⁵⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 3.451.

⁵⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 3.516, 518, 539, 541.

Henry Balnaves had attained the M.A., studied law, and adhered to evangelical doctrine for more than two decades when he began writing in prison. Hence there is good reason to believe that he was capable of writing a lengthy and complex study of justification, filled with scriptural references. The work does echo other Protestant documents, however, and it is possible that Balnaves was drawing directly upon them. This would, of course, be dependent upon his having access to such works in prison, a possibility which cannot be determined.⁵⁸⁰ Two sources were positively identified by Watt: the Vulgate, and Luther's 1535 lectures on Galatians. The former was used in direct translation, as mentioned; the latter could be identified by the quotation of a single line: 'Let Abell dye and Cain live; that is our law, sayeth the ungodly'.⁵⁸¹ Several parallel passages were also identified by Watt in the Galatians commentary, none of which shows exact literary dependence, but a close connection of ideas.⁵⁸² In fact Watt only offered a small sampling; the theological dependence of Balnaves upon this commentary cannot be doubted.⁵⁸³ Close similarities also exist with some of the works of Tyndale. The similarities between the *Treatise* and Tyndale's *Obedience of a Christian Man* or *Parable of the Wicked Mammon*, are striking, particularly with respect

⁵⁸⁰ Cf. Tyndale's request for a Hebrew Bible, grammar, and dictionary in prison, though Daniell does not believe that the request was granted: Daniell, *Tyndale*, pp. 379-81.

⁵⁸¹ This translated Luther's 'Pereat Habel, vivat cain. Haec esto lex nostra': Watt, 'Balnaves', p. 36. For the quotation, Knox, *Works*, 3.457.

⁵⁸² Watt, 'Balnaves', pp. 36-38. That Balnaves used sources other than Luther is demonstrated by the fact that his patristic references do not have their origin in any work by Luther; I am indebted to Prof. D.F. Wright for this point.

⁵⁸³ It would be the task of a critical edition to identify these, but it is clear from the range of material that Balnaves relied upon that he was either well-versed in or provided with the Galatians lectures. Watt's list is a good-starting point, but many other parallels exist: see Martin Luther, *Lectures on Galatians 1535*, trans. Jaroslav Pelikan, *LW* vols 26-27.

to the descriptions of vocation, but the dependence is not direct.⁵⁸⁴ Not surprisingly, there is a considerable overlap in ideas between the *Treatise* and the works of David Lindsay, though again they are not directly quoted.

The most probable explanation for this inexact resemblance is that Balnaves was not, in fact, provided with books other than a Vulgate in prison. Indeed, given the nature of his appeal to Scripture as an authority, perhaps this was seen as entirely appropriate by his inquisitors. However, he had obviously read broadly and deeply during his years of legal work in Scotland, resulting in close imitation of some of these texts. Being a lawyer, Balnaves was trained to recite complex arguments; being a student at a time when medieval educational practices were still in place, he might have mastered certain mnemonic devices; being an evangelical in a country where Protestant literature was strictly outlawed, he would have treasured his access to what volumes he could find.⁵⁸⁵ Thus Balnaves appears to have written the *Treatise* largely on his own, relying on previous study to draw on the wisdom of more accomplished theologians.⁵⁸⁶

5.4.c Persecution and the little flock

Balnaves's starting-point is persecution. Knox's introduction referred to the author as 'no speculative Theolog ... but even your Brother in affliction', and offered a catalogue of persecution throughout the Bible in

⁵⁸⁴ See William Tyndale, *The Obedience of a Christian Man*, ed David Daniell (London: Penguin, 2000), pp. 59-68; cf. the list of vocations in the Coverdale NT. Also cf. material in David Lindsay's 'Complaynt'.

⁵⁸⁵ On memory, cf. Knox's addition of paratextual material for the 'better memory of the Reader': Knox, *Works*, pp. 8-9.

⁵⁸⁶ It does, however, remain possible that another source lies behind much of Balnaves's *Treatise*.

support of this (10).⁵⁸⁷ Balnaves begins by stating that God should be sought 'in all our troubles and afflictions' (438), and the knowledge of him comes by faith (439-40).⁵⁸⁸ Such troubles are 'profitable, holesom, and commodious' to the faithful, helping them to subdue the flesh (441), providing 'exercysion of [their] faith' (442), calling them to repentance (443), and giving them a 'communion with the passions of Christ' (448).⁵⁸⁹ Indeed, the fundamental difference between the godly and ungodly is the willingness of the former to acknowledge their own sin and unworthiness: Adam, for example, initially refused to confess, but after the promise of 'the Seed' he responded in faith (443-44). In the midst of trouble, such as Adam felt 'standing trimbling before God' (445), the faithful respond by 'thinking us to have deserved the same justly' (446) and placing hope in the promise of justification 'without al merits or deservings' (447).

Not only is justification a consolation in persecution, it can be the cause of it. Balnaves offers a brief history of the conflict between those who seek the righteousness of Christ and those who 'trust to [their] owne workes, merites, power, and strength, therby to be made just, and to get greate rewarde of God', beginning with Adam and Eve, who demonstrate that 'to

⁵⁸⁷ In-text references in this section are all to Laing's edition of the text in Knox, *Works*, 3.1-28, 403-542. Comparison to the original reveals Laing, as usual, to have produced a meticulous transcription.

⁵⁸⁸ Balnaves, like Lindsay (see *supra*), did not wish to attempt a detailed description of the Trinity; he tells his readers to '[a]scend no higher in th especulation of the Trinitie, than thou art taught in the Scriptures of God': *ibid.*, 3.440.

⁵⁸⁹ 'Flesh' here is clearly understood in Lutheran terms; see the Romans Preface discussion in ch. 2. Edington suggested that Knox, unlike Balnaves, believed that tribulations were the result of human sin: Edington, 'Castilians', p. 44. However, Balnaves does have the godly respond to trial with repentance, saying, 'I know my offenses; justly have I deserved thys punishment, yea, and ten thousand times more for my sins': Knox, *Works*, 3.443. Cf. Wishart's sermons before and after the plague in Dundee: Bardgett, *Scotland Reformed*, pp. 43-44.

doubt of Godis promis is rute of all wickidnesse' (451). The conflict continued between Cain, who 'thought ... he was acceptable' and Abel, who 'knew him self a sinner' (452).⁵⁹⁰ Following the flood, the making of idols proliferated as an attempt by the ungodly to please God 'with their free will and naturall reason'; outward works and ceremonies shone in the cursed line of Ham, but being without faith, these were idolatry (453). God would not abandon 'his Church', however, and brought Abraham to the knowledge of justification by faith (454). From Ishmael to Esau to Joseph's brothers, the enmity between the serpent's seed and the woman's seed has continued (455).⁵⁹¹ Satan and his followers cannot bear justification by faith, and hence persecute the godly: 'So, Let Abell dye and Cain live; that is our law, sayeth the ungodly' (457).

Thus all the martyrs have 'watered the Church' as a testimony to the 'article of justification'. But 'our adversary' continued to assault the church even after the death of Christ, and he discovered

... slouthfull ministers, whome (by processe of time seeing them idle and not occupied in the reading, teaching, and preaching of the Scriptures) hee provoked to invent workes of their own conceite (458).

These ministers adopted superstitions which passed for works to such an extent that they only considered Christ to be 'as it were, a theefe hanged upon a gallous or gibbit innocently' (458). These continue the contest over the article of justification,

... by worde confessing the same with their mouth, reading, singing, and, of their maner, dayly teaching and preaching the same. And yet, neverthelesse, dayly

⁵⁹⁰ Cf. Augustine, *The City of God*, trans. and ed Henry Bettenson (London: Penguin, 1986), pp. 603-604.

⁵⁹¹ Rebecca is praised for understanding 'spiritually by faith' that Isaac was 'the promised seede', in spite of her deception: Knox, *Works*, 3.456.

burning, killing, and banishing the true faithful preachers of the said article and confessours therof (459).

So subtle is Satan that he thus acts as an 'angel of light', and has even 'cled him with the blessed sacrament of the body and bloud of Christ' – doubtless a reference to the sacrificial aspects of the Mass (459).

As the persecutors of godly faith are found in the church itself, Balnaves offers a traditional view of the true and false (and visible and invisible) churches. Although he does not cite the *locus classicus*, the parable of the wheat and the tares in Mt. 13.24-30, 36-43, Balnaves makes it clear that the church 'consistes in the godly and ungodly'; the use of Abel and Cain as their respective forefathers recalls Augustine's *City of God*.⁵⁹² These two bodies can be distinguished by their understanding of justification, but also by their relation to one another: 'ever the perfite and just church is pursued with the wicked, and never pursueth, by which the Disciples and servauntes of Christ are knowen' (459), again reflecting Augustine's two cities.⁵⁹³ Hence, while Balnaves could commit his work to the 'augmentation and increasing of the Church of Christ' generally, he also referred to Christ's 'faithfull litle flocke' more specifically (506).⁵⁹⁴ Addressing evangelicals who were facing opposition or even persecution from the leaders of the church,

⁵⁹² Augustine, *City*, pp. 606-607, 626. Knox's marginal note makes it clear that he had the parable in mind: 'Which shalbe separate when the Lord shal send forth his angels in his harvest': Knox, *Works*, 3.459. Balnaves can refer to the church in the OT because of this distinction: *ibid.*, 3.454.

⁵⁹³ '... the pilgrim City of God ... was to suffer unjust persecution at the hands of wicked': Augustine, *City*, p. 621.

⁵⁹⁴ Other references in Knox, *Works*, 3.515, 519; Knox's epistle referred to the 'Congregation of the Castle of St Andrewes' and 'the small flocke of Jesus Christ': *ibid.*, 3.5.

Balnaves's *Treatise* provided an explanation for this confusing situation which mirrored Luther's understanding of the patterns of church history.⁵⁹⁵

Although he does not offer much specific advice for those facing such persecution, Balnaves does encourage his readers, 'Feare nor dread not to reade the Scriptures', regardless of episcopal prohibitions.⁵⁹⁶ While Balnaves enjoins subjects to obey even a wicked ruler, he does not call for similar obedience to prelates (535-39), and here the distinction between true and false churches is instructive. Prelates are warned that such a prohibition shows them to be 'not ministers of the Word of God, or true successors of the Apostles; but false teachers, subverters of the word, and very antichrists' (539). Similarly, those ecclesiastical leaders who deny justification by faith are prelates 'as they call them' – in name only (459).⁵⁹⁷ Perhaps owing to his English connections, Balnaves likewise consistently refers to the pope as the 'Bishop of Rome' (460).⁵⁹⁸

The overall message of the *Treatise* regarding persecution is, therefore, one of future hope and present perseverance. Persecution should be borne as deserved punishment as well as spiritual trial, yet it is also the mark of the true church, and therefore an occasion for confidence in the promises of

⁵⁹⁵ John M. Headley, *Luther's View of Church History* (New Haven: YUP, 1963): 59-69. The similarities to Luther's schema for the history of the church, including his distinctions from Augustine, are striking, so much so that it is conceivable that Balnaves had studied Luther's lectures on Genesis at some stage. See Martin Luther, *Lectures on Genesis*, trans. G.V. Schick, LW 2 (1960): 10-11, 27, 177, 180, 210 (Cain and Abel as forefathers of false and true churches), 99 (false church), 185 (Eve believed Cain to be the seed; cf. Knox, *Works*, 3.455), 214 (false church persecutes true church).

⁵⁹⁶ The prohibition of 1532 is alluded to in Knox, *Works*, 3.533, 538-39.

⁵⁹⁷ Knox's chapter heading at this point refers to these bishops as 'the Church malignant': *ibid.*, 3.458.

⁵⁹⁸ Other references *ibid.*, 3.462, 469. Knox nevertheless in his chapter heading for the first instance referred to the pope: *ibid.*, 3.458.

justification by the righteousness of Christ – a confidence which itself aroused the ire of the false church. Such persecution put the ‘litle flocke’ in the company of saints from Abel to the present. The false prelates of the church, who oppose the ‘article of justification’ and the Scriptures in which it is found, are (implicitly) not to be obeyed, as their commands run counter to those of Christ. Thus the basic Reformation debate concerning authority also receives attention from Balnaves as he tries to provide his readers with encouragement and practical advice.

5.4.d Scripture and sedition

Balnaves is aware that his readers are accused of sedition because of their solafideism and Bible-reading, and encourages them, ‘in this matter take no care what the world judge of thee’, because

... the judgemente of the world pronounces contrarie to the Word of God, calling them, which professes the same, heretikes, seditious men, and perturburs of common weales.

In the same way Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Christ himself were wrongly accused, and the ‘blasphemations’ against them are the same at present (448). But the opposite is true: from the world’s judgement ‘commeth all the diversity of opinions, and sectes ruling this day in the church of Christ, to the dishonoring of the name of God, deminishing of his glory, and no little perturbation of common weales’ (448-49). Yet the false prelates claim to have authority in their accusations, citing “[t]he Canon lawe, the auctoritie of the Church, the long consuetude, the expmples [*sic*] of the Fathers, the Bishop of Rome’s auctoritie, the generall counsels; Heresie, heresie!” (460).

Balnaves answers this by arguing that the true church’s authority is located in Scripture rather than in prelates or popes. Thus he can encourage his readers to ignore the world’s judgement and heed only ‘thy owne conscience and the Scriptures of God’ (448); likewise, he establishes his own

position 'as the Scriptures teaches mee, having no respect to man's opinion'. This does not mean that he acts as his own authority; rather, he proceeds 'submitting my selfe to the Scriptures of God, and auctoritie of the faithful church of Christ'. The latter is the true church, which is 'governed, ruled, kepted, and defended from all spot of heresie by the Holie Spirit' (449).

The Spirit is the 'Schoolemaister of his Scriptures' who will 'teache you all veritie necessarie for your salvation'; things which 'transcendeth ... fleshely wit and reason' should not be pursued, but rather 'those thinges which are in your capacitie'. Because human reason is unable to grasp matters like predestination, the reader should not approach the text like a 'prophane history', 'manly science', or even 'the Bishop of Rome's lawe', but with 'an humble hart' (469). On the other hand, it is not true as some claim that 'no man can understand [the Scriptures] but great clearkes'; the Bible may be approached with confidence for readers who 'seeke nothing in them but your own salvation, and that which is necessarie for you to knowe', as the Holy Spirit 'your teacher, shall not suffer you to erre' (470).⁵⁹⁹ Wicked readers misread texts making mention of works, so that 'they may impugn thereby the Holy Spirit as contrarie to him selfe' with regard to justification (503), but all texts must be considered, for 'the Scripture is the best interpreter of it selfe' (454). The analogy of Scripture is implicit: '... ever the Scripture makes the selfe plaine, by the sentence that goeth before, or els followeth, or in some other place' (483).

⁵⁹⁹ On the broader issues at stake, see Susan E. Schreiner, "'The Spiritual Man Judges All Things': Calvin and Exegetical Debate about Certainty in the Reformation', in *Biblical Interpretation in the Era of the Reformation: Essays Presented to David C. Steinmetz in Honor of His Sixtieth Birthday*, ed Richard A. Muller and John L. Thompson (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1996), pp. 189-215. Steinmetz refers to Protestant 'exegetical optimism': David Steinmetz, *Luther in Context* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1986): p. 96. Both Tyndale and Coverdale adhered to this understanding of reader and Holy Spirit.

Bible-reading is therefore not only not seditious, but is the key to appropriate authority in the church. Those who believe that succession is based upon

... the Bishope of Romes law and auctoritie, with his faire bulles, your shaven crounes, smearing you with oyle or chream, and cloathing you with all ceremonies commanded in your law

are 'greatly deceived, for that is but a politike succession or ceremonial'.

Rather, the real criterion of succession is

... farre otherwyse, the which requireth you to have knowledge in the Scriptures of God, to preache and teache the same, with the other qualities and conditions contained in the Scriptures.

Thus the 'Bishop of Rome' can no more 'make a bishop of him which can not preache, nor hath the knowldege to rule the flocke committed to his care, according to the Word of God', than he can 'make an asse to speake or bee man, or yet cause a blinde man to see' (460).

5.4.e Justification proper

Balnaves thus turns to the central message of Scripture: the 'article of justification'. This is essentially that 'wee are not righteous nor just of our selfs; nor yet by our workes, which are lesse nor wee; but by the helpe of another, the onely begotten Sonne of God, Christ Jesu' (450). Balnaves's discussion of justification by faith alone is similar to that of the St Andrews Lutherans of the late 1520s, and given his presence at the university at that time, it is possible that the sharing of ideas between the *Treatise* and the works of Hamilton, Gau, and Johnstone is more than coincidental. As this material has been addressed already, only a brief outline of Balnaves on the doctrine is necessary here.

There are different types of justice, beginning with '[u]niversall or generall justice', which consists of 'all vertues of morall maners' and can be

called the righteousness of the law (461). It consists of 'Politike or Civill Justice', the obedience due to superiors necessary to the good ordering of commonwealths, as well as 'Cereemoniall Justice', the fulfilling of 'traditions of man' including those of 'the Bishop of Rome', which are good so long as they are not 'repugnant to the law of God' (462).⁶⁰⁰ Higher than these is the 'Law Morall, or Moyses Law', God's own command, which requires not only external conformity but 'the inward affections and motions of the hart', from 'the bottome of the hart', recalling Luther's discussion of fulfillment of the law in the Romans Preface. This is equivalent to the 'law of nature, prented in the hart of man in the beginning', but it can never be fulfilled (463) owing to 'Originall Sinne' (464).⁶⁰¹ None of the 'holy fathers' of the OT could be 'pronounced just by the deeds of the law', but 'all were sinners and transgressours of the lawe' (465).⁶⁰²

Since righteousness cannot be found in the law, it must be found 'of another then our self' (*extra nos* in Luther), namely Christ (470). 'Law' in Paul does not refer merely to ceremonial law (474), but the moral law which only Christ fulfilled (475). Christ's righteousness is given only from God's mercy, through faith, and by receiving it Christians 'are made, reputed, and compted just and accepted in to the favour of God ... without our merites or deservinges' (476). This was foreshadowed in OT ceremonies and sacrifices, but it is now made clear that the just shall live by faith (citing Hab.), and thus

⁶⁰⁰ On politcal justice in Balnaves, see J.H. Burns, *The True Law of Kingship: Concepts of Monarchy in Early Modern Scotland* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1996): p. 126.

⁶⁰¹ The equivalence of Mosaic law with the law of nature was also to be found in Luther and Tyndale: W.D.J. Cargill Thompson, 'The Two Regiments: The Continental Setting of William Tyndale's Political Thought', in *Reform and Reformation: England and the Continent c. 1500-1750*, ed Derek Baker, SCHS 2 (Oxford: Blackwell, 1979) 17-33 (p. 25).

⁶⁰² Balnaves reflects particularly on Moses, Job, and David; he quotes Augustine and Bernard, though without citing a particular work.

‘continue in sure trust, hoping to obtain the thing he looketh for, which is remission of sinnes, the gift of the Holy Spirite, and everlasting life, all purchaste by Christ’ (477). Faith is understood as Luther’s *fiducia*: ‘truelie thinking and beleieving God ... and ... sure trust in the mercy of God’ (478).

Balnaves sets out three questions which the wicked put forth concerning the righteousness of faith. To the question why God would command that which cannot be fulfilled, Balnaves responds by appealing to creation. Humans were created perfect, with ‘originall justice’ (470), and the law too was created perfect (471). Thus the Fall affected human capacities for good, but did not change the law; thus those who ask this question should ‘accuse not God but thy selfe’ (472). However, Balnaves does note that after the fall, ‘remained with our first parents some rest and footsteppes of this lawe, knowledge, and vertues in the which hee was created’, meaning that we can still fulfill some of the demands of the law. This has misled ‘Philosophers’ to believe that humans are born ‘cleane and pure of nature’, but Christians must consider their ‘corruption of nature’ and either ‘dispaire, or seeke Christ’ (473).

Another question concerns the fate of the faithful of the OT. Balnaves answers that they put their faith in the promise of the Seed in Gen. 3, and looked for the coming of Christ just as Christians now look for his return: ‘And so the faith of the fathers in the Old Testament, and our faith in the Newe Testament, was and is one thing’, though the OT saints had more ceremonies (479).

The final question, familiar to virtually all solafideists of the time, was that of antinomianism. Balnaves stayed on familiar Lutheran ground: once an individual is justified, ‘then his workes are acceptable and please God, because they are wrought in faith’, but as an ‘outwarde testimonie of the faith’ only (480). Several scriptural passages are considered which use the

term 'justice' in a way that might appear to suggest that it played a role in justification, but these must be read in light of the whole Bible. Those who endeavour a 'mixtion' of works with faith make Christ's death vain (480, 485). The righteousness of Christ does not satisfy only for pre-baptismal sin, as all continue to sin and must 'dayly' pray for forgiveness (486).

Good works which Christians do should be attributed to Christ (490) lest they be taken as fulfilling the law. Christ, however, did not preach law but grace.

For the office of the law is to accuse the wicked, feare them, and condemne them, as transgressours of the same. The office of Christ is to preache mercy, remission of sinnes, freely in his bloude, through faith, give consolation, and to save sinners (492).

Here Balnaves echoes Luther's law/gospel dialectic: 'the law driveth and compelleth man to seeke Christ' (493). This dialectic, however, naturally leads to works, for 'unfained faith may no more abyde idle from working in love, then the good tree may from bringing foorth her fruite in due time', but the fruit does not make the tree good (494). This may also be illustrated by the two kingdoms of God and the Devil: those whom Christ has rescued from Satan are no longer obligated to sin, but follow their 'valiant captaines, Faith, Hope, and Charity' (495) in 'love, charitie, and all maner of righteous living, to the glorie and profit of your neighbour'.⁶⁰³

Balnaves turns to some further troublesome passages regarding works and justification. James 2 refers to justification before men, and has

⁶⁰³ On the two kingdoms (*Reiche* here as opposed to *Regimente*), see W.D.J. Cargill Thompson, 'The 'Two Kingdoms' and the 'Two Regiments': Some Problems of Luther's *Zwei-Reiche-Lehre*', in W.D.J. Cargill Thompson, *Studies in the Reformation: Luther to Hooker*, ed C.W. Dugmore (London: Athlone, 1980): pp. 42-59. Cf. James Kirk, *Patterns of Reform: Continuity and Change in the Reformation* Kirk (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1989): pp. 234-35.

nothing to do with righteousness before God (497-98).⁶⁰⁴ In Acts 10, Cornelius's good deeds came before God because he already believed the promises, like the OT saints, and these deeds did not justify him (498-99). The 'faith which worketh by love' in Gal. 5.6 refers to love as the fruit of faith, not as a cause of justification (500-501). I Cor. 13 extols love, but not in connection to justification (501-502). The rich young ruler (Mt. 19.16-22; Lk. 18.18-25) had not actually kept the commands mentioned, and in any case these were only from the second table of the law, which cannot justify before God (502-503).

Works, therefore, are 'but the witnessing of faith', and though the godly will do such works, they do not think thereby to 'move God to grace'; Balnaves denies by name by *meritum de congruo* and *meritum de condigno* (504). On the other hand, works which are 'man's inventioun', such as 'praier, almes-deedes, fastings, and keeping of holy dayes' are 'contemned by God' because they are done without faith (506). Even works which have been commanded by God are sin if done without faith; those which he has not commanded are thus 'plaine idolatrie' (507).⁶⁰⁵ To the godly, however,

⁶⁰⁴ 'Double justification', in the sense that works justified one before men while faith justified before God, helped explain James 2 and other passages for many Protestants; Luther, commenting on Gal. 2.14, said that 'the Law justifies on earth and the Gospel in heaven': LW 26.117; similarly in *The Freedom of a Christian: Luther, Three Treatises*, pp. 298-99. Cf. William Tyndale, *That fayth the mother of all good workes justifieth us (The Parable of the Wicked Mammon)* (Marburg [Antwerp]: Hans Luft [Johannes Hoochstraten], 1528): fol. H8v. This is not identical, however, to 'double justification' as conceived most famously by Girolamo Seripando at Trent, in which faith and works both justify, with the latter being dependent upon the former: see Alister E. McGrath, *Iustitia dei: A history of the Christian doctrine of Justification*, 2 vols (Cambridge: CUP, 1986), 2: *From 1500 to the present day*, pp. 35, 60-61.

⁶⁰⁵ This mention of idolatry, repeated in Knox, *Works*, 3.519, 531, initially led Watt to believe that this was a Reformed influence (the scripture principle), but the same idea can be found in the Galatians commentary: Watt, 'Balnaves', p. 37.

works as the 'fruites of faith' (508) should be 'blowen in at the eares of the faithful by the ministers of the Word' (509). The life of faith and its fruits will not be easy, and Balnaves warns that 'all which will live godly in Christ Jesus shall suffer persecution', and anyone taking up this life must 'prepare him for tentation and trouble' (510). Luther's theology of the cross was particularly poignant for Balnaves's audience. Those who take up the cross do so in response to Christ's sufferings for them, and do not seek to guide themselves (513-15).

Human reason cannot understand Scripture regarding justification (516-17), and commends works which are based on 'good zeale and intention' such as praying the paternoster to images of saints, kneeling at saints' altars, or offering Masses to saints (518).⁶⁰⁶ But these acts are idolatrous, as are many practices which appear good but are not from faith or in Scripture:

... the superstitious worshipping of Saintes; going in pilgrimage; purgeing in purgatorie; hallowing of water, or other elements; foundation of masses to publike or private idolatrie; offering or sacrifices making, not commanded in the Word of God; choice of meats; forbidding of marriage in the church of God; and abominable abuses of the whole Christian religion, by the shaven, oincted, or smeared priests, bishops, monkes, and friers; having onely there vocation of man, and by man (519).

Balnaves here condemns not only practices which had much popular devotion, but also some of the chief sources of revenue for the church of his time, such as endowments for anniversary Masses.

5.4.f Vocation and good works

⁶⁰⁶ In an isolated comment on the sacrament, Balnaves mentions 'the blessed Sacrament of the body and bloud of Christ, *after their maner*, offered dayly': Knox, *Works*, 3.518, italics mine. What the author means by this phrase is not entirely clear.

The negative points being established, that works not commanded in Scripture were sinful, and that works could never attain justification, Balnaves turned to the good works which Christians ought to pursue. These were connected to fulfilling and not exceeding vocation (521), a concept which Luther revolutionised in the early sixteenth century from the restrictive notion of religious service to the broad notion of all walks of life as a calling from God.⁶⁰⁷ There was one division of vocation, that of immediate and mediate calling: the former included the OT prophets, Moses, and David; the latter, those who, like Joshua, received a calling by God through other humans. However, all Christians receive a 'generall vocation' (522) which binds them together in the church where there should be 'no division' (523); they should remember that under this general vocation 'there is no distinction of persones, for all men are equall before God, of one estate'. In this estate are all Christians kings and priests, though they should 'beware ye call not your selves kings in office and dignitie, nor priests in administration of the word and holy sacrament', which are special vocations (524).

The 'enormities and abuses' in the church of the time, Balnaves argued, came from neglect of the proper fulfilling of vocation; if Christians would work in their 'owne estate[s], not invying the gift of God in our neighbour', then 'none would usurpe another's office or dignitie (to the whiche he were not called), but would be content of his own vocation, and give to every man his duetie' (525). This would lead to a civic *reformatio*:

For, will the prince and superiour do his duetie to the subject, and the subject his duetie to the superiour, there would bee no disobedience. The minister of the Word to the auditour and flocke committed to his care; the auditour to the minister of the Worde, there would be no division in the church. The father and mother to the

⁶⁰⁷ See Kirk, *Patterns*, pp. 232-33.

children, and the children to the parents, there would bee no dishonouring. The lord to the servant, and the servant to the lord, there would bee no contempt nor trouble in the Common weale. And so would we all looke upon Christ our head, and be ruled with his Word, and seek no other way beside it; nor mixt the civill or politike estate with the Word of God, but every one to serve in the owne rowme and place; then should there be no question of politick works, nor no other works of any law to be mixt with faith, which justifieth onely before God (525-26).

Here was Balnaves's vision for a society guided by justification by faith. As individuals severed works from salvation, accepting Christ's satisfaction for their sins, they would abandon their superstitious efforts to ensure their own salvation and give attention instead to fulfilling their Christian calling in the here and now. Solafideist theology would thus reform society, as Christians, recognising their fundamental equality before God, would be content with their respective vocations. In this ideal society, not only would works not be mixed with faith, but the two regiments of state and church would each 'serve in the owne rowme and place'. This shows Balnaves's acceptance of Luther's understanding of the two *Regimente* as separate ecclesiastical and civil jurisdictions.⁶⁰⁸

Specific instructions for the vocations begin with the prince, who as 'father to all thy kingdome; their heade in place of God', must take care of them like his own body or children. The prince 'shouldest begin to knowe the will of thy God, and take the booke of his law in thy hand, read upon it, which teacheth thee the will of God' (527). Being guided by Scripture, the prince should exercise the *ius reformandi*:

Beginne at him [God], and set forth the true and perfite worshipping of God in thy kingdome. Restore the true, pure, and syncere Christian religion; abolish, destroye, and put downe all false worshippings and superstitions, contrarie to the Worde of

⁶⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 234; Cargill Thompson, 'Two Kingdoms', pp. 46-48.

God, and not commanded therein; according to the example of the noble kinges of
Juda, Ezechias and Josias.... This is thy vocation (528).

The counter-example was Saul, who pursued works of man's invention and was cut off (531), but the Christian prince would never face punishment for neglecting such superstitious practices as 'pilgrimages, offering to images, praying to saintes, founding of masses, and abbayes of monkes and friers; making of images, belles, copes' (530). The right of reforming was limited, however; Kirk comments that '[b]eyond recognising the prince's vital right of intervention in reforming a church corrupted, Balnaves was evidently not disposed to accord the prince extensive authority in a church reformed'.⁶⁰⁹

Remembering that he is 'the creature of God, equal to the poorest of thy kingdom or dominion; his brother by creation and naturall succession of Adam, and of nature a rebell to God' (527), the prince should rule justly:

... it becommeth you of your office to guide and rule your subjects in all goodnesse and sweetnes, not seeking from them their landes or goodes; but seeke righteous judgement; help the oppressed; judge righteously the people and widowes cause; justifie the needfull, humble, and poore, as teacheth you the Scriptures of God.... Take from them your duety, and no more; have no respect of persons, nor take no bribes or rewardes, the which blinde the eyes of the wise, and perverte the wordes of the just (529).

Likewise, a 'pure and cleane' life is expected of the ruler, lest he transgress his vocation and be punished like the sinful kings of the OT (530). This discussion of the ruler was no doubt appealing to Balnaves's audience, but had little direct relevance in Scotland, where it would be many years before Mary was encouraged by Knox to undertake reforms. *Mutatis mutandis*, the advice could perhaps have applied to the regent, though Arran had already proven himself untrustworthy in religion.

⁶⁰⁹ Kirk, *Patterns*, p. 234.

The vocation of bishops is to 'preach the pure and and syncere worde to the flocke committed to thy charge; counsell and confort the weake and feeble; minister the sacramentes in their due forme, according to the Word of God' (531). Like the prince, the bishop's personal behaviour must be directed by his vocation, as they are examples to the flock 'in teaching of the word, in good life, and honest conversation; in love and charitie, in faith and chastitie; ever exercising thy selfe in reading, exhorting, and teaching'. The bishop should enjoin the laity to read the Scriptures (532), and in general should 'teache everie estate of man, how they should behave them in their conversation', providing an example by not 'play[ing] the tyrant or the lord upon the inferiour ministers', and being prepared to die 'for the flocke' (534). Just as Balnaves had no intention of removing hierarchy from society, he maintained episcopal authority, 'lawfully made, according to the Word of God, and authoritie of the magistrates' (522), in the church.⁶¹⁰

The distinction between the regiments must be respected by the bishops, who are told to, '[e]xceede not the boundes of thy vocation' (531), and not to 'meddle thee with secular affaires or busines'. The work of a bishop is a 'great charge' to preach and teach, but many bishops 'take thought of the lordshippe, dignity, rent, and profite, and looke never to the worke yee should doe', therefore transgressing their calling (532).⁶¹¹ These will be punished just like Eli's sons (535). At this point Balnaves may be referring back in a partical *apologia* to the death of Beaton, who in any case forbade the reading of Scripture, was a poor example to the flock, and was extremely involved with secular affairs. While Balnaves, before he joined the

⁶¹⁰ Though it does not solve the convoluted question of Knox's ecclesiology, it is of interest that he did not include in his summary the reference to inferior ministers: Knox, *Works*, 3.26.

⁶¹¹ This implies a non-coercive spiritual regiment, echoing Luther and Tyndale: Cargill Thompson, 'Two Regiments', p. 25.

castilians, had agreed with the Privy Council that the murder of the Cardinal was treasonous, he could nevertheless argue that Beaton deserved his fate.⁶¹²

Householders and parents, like princes and bishops, should treat those beneath them with goodness and honesty (535). Husbands are to exercise 'meekenes and sweetnesse' toward their wives, provide for the household, and give 'vertueous occupation' to children and servants (536); wives are to submit to husbands, and manage their households well, not wasting time with idle activities like pilgrimages, 'babling upon a paire of beades, speaking to stocks or stones', but rather give 'contemplation' at 'thy rysing, and downlying at night' to the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and the Ten Commandments (537). Frequent reading and 'communication' of Scripture is important for the Christian household, as it helps commit it to memory 'and digesteth in thy hart', leading members of the household away from sin and toward godliness (539).

For all subjects, the simple task given by Balnaves is to 'obey and not resist' those in authority (539).

Give to thy prince and superiour his dutie; or what ever he chargeth thee with concerning temporall riches; inquire not the cause, for that pertaineth not to thy vocation. Hee is thy head, whom thou shouldst obey; transgresse not his lawes; be not a revenger of thy owne cause, for that is asmuch to usurpe his office: so thou walkest not aright in thy vocation. Looke not to his faultes or vices, but to thy owne. Disobey him not; howbeit he bee evill and doe the wrong (which becommeth him not of his office); grudge not thereat, but pray for him, and commit thy cause to God (540).

This absolute statement is thoroughly in line with Luther's understanding of obedience, and presumably reflects the starting-point for Knox's political

⁶¹² *LP Henry VIII* 21(1).705 (no. 1404); Edington, 'Castilians', p. 45. It may be that Balnaves's hesitation before entering the castle reflects mixed feelings about the situation.

thought. It is, of course, a somewhat ironic statement in light of Balnaves's dealings in the aftermath of the Beaton murder.

Children are instructed to obey their parents and to care for them in their old age, though in this case they must by fulfilling their vocation defy the 'wicked and ungodly pastors' who encourage the founding of 'a soule masse', even if mother and father must 'begge their breade' (541). Here, at least, was one limit on obedience.

5.4.g A Lutheran *Treatise*?

Balnaves's *Treastise on Justification* had greater length and depth than any other Scottish evangelical writing of its time. While the ideas were borrowed, Balnaves was able to appropriate and rehearse them with skill and clarity, perhaps largely from memory. The structure of the argument was simple enough: turn to God in persecution like all the true church, which is marked by acceptance of the righteousness of Christ, and instead of invented works follow the godly calling in which you are found. However, in the detail of his understanding of solafideist theology and the sweep of his biblical knowledge, Balnaves wrote a useful tract for his persecuted brethren, at least for those who could read (or hear read) the manuscript. The length and sheer number of biblical quotations (not just citations) may seem tedious, but not, Knox argues, to the godly; on the other hand, the wicked 'abhorre all godly writings, thinking them tedious, though they conteine not the length of the Lord's Prayer' (10). Like Tyndale, Balnaves probably realised that his *Treatise* might provide some readers with 'a first encounter with New Testament words in English', and its repetition of the basic doctrine of justification must have taught the idea to its audience.⁶¹³ Watt

⁶¹³ 'This is not a twentieth-century method': Daniell, *Tyndale*, p. 160.

points out that '[w]e have lost the thrill which came to those to whom this exegesis was novel and indeed revolutionary'.⁶¹⁴

That the *Treatise* should be characterised as Lutheran has been accepted by all authors, not only because of the dependence on the Galatians commentary, but because in imagery, argumentation, and language, Balnaves never strays far from Luther. Thus the ideas, and the way in which they are stated, are certainly from Luther, and hence Lutheran. But there are two problems with the term which should qualify any discussion of 'Scottish Lutheranism' at the time. First, the theology of justification by faith alone is usually referred to in secondary works as Lutheran, which suggests wrongly that these ideas were solely identified with German Protestantism. But in fact solafideism was common currency among all magisterial Protestants, a doctrine which Calvin or Bullinger could expound in the same terms as Luther.⁶¹⁵ While Luther undoubtedly was the creative force behind the formulation of this doctrine in the early sixteenth century, it did not belong to him alone.

A second problem is whether 'Lutheran' conveys any practical programme for reform. Could Scotland have had a 'Lutheran' reformation in 1543, the 'natural moment' for such an event?⁶¹⁶ This proves to be a difficult question. Without a godly prince, presumably the godly regent could have enacted the *ius reformandi*, but he would have done so with precious few ministers to guide a reformed kirk. Without a developed printing industry, without a strong hand from the magistrate, and most of all without a Scots Luther, such a prospect is far-fetched at best. If there was a

⁶¹⁴ Watt, 'Balnaves', p. 31.

⁶¹⁵ Jaroslav Pelikan, *The Christian Tradition: A History of the Development of Doctrine*, 5 vols (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1971-89): 4.138-39.

⁶¹⁶ Goodare, 'Scotland', p. 95.

Lutheran party, it certainly consisted of the court evangelicals in the late 1530s and early 1540s, who were trying to guide the prince toward his right of reforming. But this leads to further questions, for some of the court evangelicals, notably Borthwick, were inclined to Reformed theology.

Strictly speaking, then, there was no Scottish Lutheran movement. But if the term is used more broadly, to indicate those who adhered to the doctrine of justification as conceived and stated by Luther, with some of its practical implications for Christian living and ministry, Balnaves's *Treatise* was their greatest monument.

5.5 The evangelicals and government

The presence of evangelicals at the court of James V not only gave their ideas a tacit sense of acceptability, but also provided them with a forum for discussion and dissemination impossible otherwise in Scotland. At court, the evangelicals brushed shoulders with individuals from all estates, and though they do not seem to have had a consistent reformist agenda, their aims were known. The Epiphany play of 1540 provided a moment to publicise humanist critiques of the church, but the twin pillars of solafideism and Scripture-reading were grounded in private contacts and behaviour. But if the Epiphany play was a mark of increased ambition by the evangelicals, it was almost immediately struck down by the trial of Borthwick, following which royal policy began to shift.

If the evangelicals at court had hopes of a Henrician settlement, or even a more thoroughly 'Lutheran' situation, these were dealt a further blow by the 1541 Parliament, but the Arran regency changed their prospects dramatically two years later. However, the 'godly fit' proved to be a small advance with a severe backlash, and in the absence of a monarch for many years, any governmental endorsement of evangelical theology and its implications was impossible. Balnaves's *Treatise*, in this respect, described

an unrealisable dream for a reformed kirk with a Protestant monarch, though in the context of a document written to encourage the persecuted, perhaps such a vision would be salutary. But the influence of evangelical theology in the Scottish government would not return until the mid-1550s. The conventicle was once again the primary *locus* for the Scottish evangelicals.

Chapter 6: The coming of Protestantism

In the aftermath of the Henrician experiment of 1543, renewed vigour on the part of the Cardinal resulted in the burning of five in Perth in Jan. 1544, though in general the dust seems to have settled quickly, with evangelicals finding themselves in essentially the same situation as under James V. The godly fit had lasted only a few months, and the leading court evangelicals were dispersed, but this episode had provided a glimmer of hope for significant reforms at a national level. However, a 'reformation' as such would have required a degree of ecclesiological and political reflection which had not, as yet, taken place amongst the evangelicals. More immediately, however, the evangelicals in their diverse settings needed cohesion and leadership, which for a time they received from George Wishart.

A. George Wishart

A.1 Early years and education

According to both John Gordon, Dean of Salisbury, and David Calderwood, George Wishart was connected to the Wisharts of Pitarrow; Durkan discovered in a letter from 1592 that Wishart was in fact a younger brother to James Wishart of Pitarrow, Justice-Clerk in the early 1520s, correcting a great deal of earlier speculation.⁶¹⁷ Matriculation records from Louvain associate him with St Andrews, but only as his home diocese.⁶¹⁸ A portrait of Wishart in the Scottish National Portrait Gallery states that he was thirty years old in 1543, and a birth date around 1513 is not unreasonable. Nothing further is known of Wishart's early years, until he appears at

⁶¹⁷ Durkan, 'Scottish Reformers', pp. 2-3.

⁶¹⁸ John Durkan, 'George Wishart: His Early Life', *SHR* 32 (1953): 98-99. Another George Wishart is listed at Louvain 'of Dundee', but this is a different student: Durkan, 'Scottish Reformers', p. 6.

Louvain, graduating first in arts in 1532, during which time Nicholas Ridley was also at the university.⁶¹⁹ The University of Louvain was, as mentioned, unfriendly to Protestantism, though the humanism of the Collegium Trilingue might have made an impression on Wishart, as it seems to have had on Patrick Hamilton. Soon after Wishart's departure, Louvain would see an influx of English refugees from Henry VIII, which suggests a climate hostile to all things Lutheran.⁶²⁰ In any case, Wishart excelled in his studies, and was at some stage ordained.⁶²¹

The length of Wishart's stay on the continent at this stage is unknown, but he was back in Scotland by 1535, when on 20 March he witnessed a charter for John Erskine of Dun in Montrose.⁶²² The connection to Erskine of Dun at this early stage is telling, for already the laird had been associated with heresy. In 1534, the priest George Gilbert, accused of 'errasy', was being protected from the bishop of Brechin by his friends; it emerged the following year that Gilbert had married 'ane woman in Rensbrig in Ducheland'. Erskine offered surety for the release of four of the conspirators, though what became of Gilbert is unknown.⁶²³ Typically, the specifics of Gilbert's heresy were not recorded, but the marriage of a priest was a shocking step which was almost certainly associated with evangelical belief at this stage. Likewise, Knox reports that around 1533-34, David Straiton, now delighting in having the NT read to him, 'frequented much the company of the Lard of Dun, whome God, in those dayis, had marvelouslie

⁶¹⁹ Durkan, 'George Wishart', p. 99.

⁶²⁰ *LP Henry VIII* 8(1).449 (no. 1151). Some of these English clerics would eventually participate in William Tyndale's trial, including Robert Buckenham.

⁶²¹ Durkan, 'Scottish Reformers', p. 7.

⁶²² *RMS* 2.323 (no. 1462).

⁶²³ *ADC Public*, pp. 426-27, 437; Frank D. Bardgett, 'John Erskine of Dun: A theological reassessment', *Scottish Journal of Theology* 43 (1990): 59-86 (p. 60).

illuminated'.⁶²⁴ Whatever exactly Erskine's theological commitments were at this stage, they must be described as evangelical rather than Protestant: if he was strongly connected to the vernacular NT and a married priest, he also continued to accept the sacramental authority of the church.⁶²⁵

Erskine's connection to Wishart came during Wishart's stay in Montrose as schoolmaster. Petrie's much later account, based upon discussions with 'very antient men', reports that Wishart taught his students the New Testament in Greek, for which he was summoned by John Hepburn, bishop of Brechin, in 1538, and fled the country.⁶²⁶ The knowledge and teaching of Greek suggest that Wishart had been influenced by humanist scholarship, perhaps at Louvain while in proximity to the Collegium Trilingue.

A.2 Wishart in Bristol

Wishart's flight took him to Bristol sometime in 1538, perhaps due to the presence of Hugh Latimer as Bishop of Worcester, where he began preaching, and soon came into controversy. Charged with heresy by Dean John Kene and imprisoned for a time in Bristol in January 1539, Wishart was released due to the threat of popular unrest, as attested by surviving letters from an anonymous author who threatened the 'enemies to God's word' who had accused the 'faithful young man that did read the lecture' and 'who holds the King of Heaven before the king of England'. Wishart (not named) had done 'nothing but scripture would bear him', and the 'hard-hearted

⁶²⁴ Knox, *Works*, 1.59.

⁶²⁵ Bardgett, 'Erskine', p. 61. Bardgett dismisses the notion that Erskine's 'accident' in killing a priest was connected to anticlerical sentiments.

⁶²⁶ Alexander Petrie, *A Compendious history of the catholick church*, 2 vols (The Hague: 1662): 2.182.

knaves' who imprisoned him would have been burned out of their houses had they failed to release him.⁶²⁷

But more controversy would follow: the 'stiffnecked Scott' preached in St Nicholas' Church on 15 May 1539 'the moost blasphemous heresy that euer was herd, openly declaryng that Christ nother hath nor could merite for hym ne yett for vs', and the sermon 'brought many of the Comons of this Towne into a greate errour'.⁶²⁸ This accusation was reiterated in July by Thomas Warley ('Christ nor any creature had any merit by his Passion'), who added that Wishart had been charged for claiming that 'exorcising of holy water or holy bread were execrable and detestable'.⁶²⁹ Clearly Wishart's preaching was effective; but what was its content? The charge reported by Ricart suggests the Radical belief that Christ's suffering and death were exemplary rather than propitiatory, a position clearly at odds with solafideism, which denies any human merit and looks only to Christ for righteousness provided through his atoning death on the cross. A few radicals had moved away from Luther's soteriology, which they believed encouraged a view of 'cheap grace' that waylaid genuine Christian discipleship. To follow Christ was to follow in his sufferings, and thus to claim that his sufferings counted for his disciples was to make the servant greater than his master.⁶³⁰ By 1539, the chasm between magisterial

⁶²⁷ LP Henry VIII 14(1).65 (no. 184); Martha C. Skeeters, *Community and Clergy: Bristol and the Reformation c. 1530-c. 1570* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1993): pp. 52-53.

⁶²⁸ Lucy Toulmin Smith, ed, *The Maire of Bristowe Is Kalendar, by Robert Ricart, Town Clerk of Bristol, 18 Edward IV* (Westminster: Camden Society, 1872): p. 55.

⁶²⁹ LP Henry VIII 14(1).545 (no. 1219). The precise meaning of the latter charges is elusive.

⁶³⁰ George Huntston Williams, *The Radical Reformation* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1962), pp. 161, 177, 861, *et passim*; cf. the tiller of London who claimed that 'Christe was only incarnate and suffered deathe for all those that died before his incarnation, and not for those whych dyed since': cited in David Loades, 'Anabaptism and English sectarianism

Protestantism and Radical theology was well-defined, and English evangelicals disliked the latter as much as conservatives.⁶³¹

On 9 June the mayor of Bristol sent word of the case to Cromwell, before whom Wishart had already appeared in January.⁶³² It was before Cranmer, however, that he stood trial, and as the Act of Six Articles had just been passed in Parliament, it was part of the archbishop's 'own particular crucifixion' to enforce it on Wishart and others.⁶³³ Wishart was forced to bear a faggot in recantation at Paul's Cross on 6 July, but refusing to carry it to where he had received it, as was customary, he threw it to the summoner.⁶³⁴ Perhaps due to this defiance, Wishart was compelled to bear the faggot twice more in Bristol, on 13 July at St Nicholas, and 20 July at Christchurch.⁶³⁵

Determining the validity of the charge that Wishart proclaimed a denial of Christ's merits is crucial for understanding his influence in Scotland. If Wishart had adopted Radical theology, he might have done so while at Louvain, in the vicinity of Anabaptist migrations to the Low Countries. In Scotland there was nothing in evidence to have drawn him to such beliefs, unless Radical belief could be found in Angus, and George Gilbert's marriage was the marriage of a priest-turned-Radical. But this is extremely far-fetched; Erskine, after all, gives no evidence whatsoever of Radical tenets. In fact, one wonders why the evangelical Erskine would have

in the mid-sixteenth century', in *Reform and Reformation: England and the Continent c. 1500- c. 1750*, ed Derek Baker, SCH.S 2 (Oxford: Blackwell, 1979): 59-70 (p. 61).

⁶³¹ Loades, 'Anabaptism', p. 60.

⁶³² *LP Henry VIII* 14(1).499 (no. 1095).

⁶³³ Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Thomas Cranmer* (New Haven: YUP, 1996): p. 255.

⁶³⁴ *LP Henry VIII* 14(1).545 (no. 1219). Durkan considers this 'far from repentance', though drawing the conclusion that this was because Wishart had not abandoned the position specified in the charge: Durkan, 'Scottish Reformers', p. 5.

⁶³⁵ Skeeters, *Community*, p. 55.

been so welcoming to someone who held that justification was not a matter of the merits of Christ's righteousness, either in 1535 or when Wishart returned in 1543 and 1545.

The other possibility is that Wishart adopted Radical beliefs during his months in Bristol. But this was a short time for the top graduate of his class to consider and adopt a theological position considerably more distant from the received position on justification than solafideism. Latimer, as bishop, would certainly not have approved.

Although it is difficult to find a physical connection between Wishart and Radical theology, it is true that two of the charges against Wishart in 1546 could be associated with Radicalism, and might show continuity in his position (not that Radical theology was particularly systematic): understanding of one's baptism (perhaps suggesting adult baptism), and soul-sleep. These are not identical to the Bristol charge, and it could be suggested that this second set of accusations shows Wishart to have preached Radical tenets in his homeland, thus inviting charges independent of his previous accusation. However, his answer to the first charge is clearly evangelical, and he denied the second; and again, Erskine of Dun, who would have opposed all of these beliefs, did not hesitate to support Wishart.

Apart from these charges, all evidence for Wishart's theology reveals a Reformed position; this was underlined in his translation of the First Helvetic Confession, as well as the answers at his trial. If the charges were 'even for Wishart improbably way-out stuff', why was he accused of Radical tenets in the first place?⁶³⁶ Kene made his accusation prior to passage of the Act of Six Articles, and it may be that he needed to exaggerate Wishart's doctrine to force a trial of this troublesome and popular preacher; after all,

⁶³⁶ G.R. Elton, *Policy and Police: The Enforcement of the Reformation in the Age of Thomas Cromwell* (NY: 1985): pp. 119-20 (quotation).

Cromwell had not seen fit to take action against the Scot earlier in the year. This might explain Wishart's apparently defiant behaviour during his first recantation at Paul's Cross. Any chance that Wishart might be vindicated before Cromwell or Cranmer, moreover, was removed by the passage of the Act of Six Articles in mid-June; even if he were not radical, he had certainly violated this policy of renewed conservatism, and could not be cleared.⁶³⁷ If, as seems possible, Wishart's criticism of 'holy bread' was an attack on the Mass, he was caught in a dangerous violation of the Six Articles. Latimer had resigned on 1 July, so he could be of no assistance to Wishart. The letter-writer supporting Wishart in Bristol had anticipated the difficulty that the king could 'fail us', and perhaps the Act proved him right.⁶³⁸

The evidence for Wishart's doctrine in Bristol is confusing and inconclusive, but on balance it is simpler to explain how the charge might have been exaggerated than to explain how Wishart could have adopted and abandoned Radical beliefs in a relatively brief span. However, if the charges are true, it would seem that he began to favour Radical teaching on justification after arriving in Bristol, and subsequently abandoned it. Durkan suggests that Wishart's Radical leanings went back to his days in Montrose, and claims that Wishart was sent by Cranmer to Cambridge for 're-education', where he changed his mind.⁶³⁹ This raises other difficulties, however. If Wishart were still belligerent about his beliefs, would it have been advisable to send him to Cambridge? And who at Cambridge would have taught him Reformed theology, particularly in the wake of the Act of Six Articles?⁶⁴⁰ For the present study, the assumption will be that Wishart

⁶³⁷ It is possible that foreigners were easy targets for carrying out the Act: MacAlpine, Seton, Wishart, Willock, and Alesius all seem to have run afoul of it.

⁶³⁸ Skeeters, *Community*, p. 54.

⁶³⁹ Durkan, 'Scottish "Evangelicals"', p. 144; Durkan, 'Scottish Reformers', p. 5.

⁶⁴⁰ On the situation at Cambridge, see Rex, 'Early Impact'.

did not deviate from the basic teaching that Christ's righteousness did benefit the faithful, and that the Bristol charges reflect either slander or misunderstanding.

A.3.a Wishart in exile

In the three years following this incident, Wishart's movements and activities can only be guessed. In the aftermath of the Act of Six Articles it seems probable that Wishart, like his fellow-Scots Alesius and John MacAlpine, found it necessary to go into exile a second time, on the continent.⁶⁴¹ The absence of further unrest in Bristol suggests that Wishart had left soon after his abjuration.⁶⁴² If this is the case, then during this time he may have had the encounter with a Jew while sailing on the Rhine which he related in his trial. Wishart narrated briefly their debate concerning the identification of Jesus as the messiah, and noted that this man claimed that Christians were uncaring toward the poor, idolatrous, and worshipped bread 'backin upone the aschis' as God.⁶⁴³

A trip on the Rhine could mean a destination in the Swiss Confederacy, and it was probably on the continent during this second exile that Wishart translated the First Helvetic Confession (hereafter FHC) into English. This confession was produced by a Swiss committee including Bullinger, Jud, Myconius, Grynaeus, and Megander in 1536, assisted by Bucer and Capito, in an effort to unite Reformed and Lutheran Protestants; Luther would later indicate his approval, and for a brief time, as the

⁶⁴¹ Seton, Willock, and (probably) Macdowell stayed in England after the Act; all had powerful patrons, yet all were charged and imprisoned at some stage. Durkan denies a second trip to the continent: Durkan, 'Scottish Reformers', p. 5. However, this may be belied by Emery Tylney's account of Wishart as 'well traueled': Foxe 1583, p. 1268.

⁶⁴² Skeeters, *Community*, p. 55.

⁶⁴³ Knox, *Works*, 1.159. Reference to the trial will be made from Knox's history for ease of reference.

Wittenberg Concord was underway later that year, a *rapprochement* seemed possible.⁶⁴⁴ This unification would not last, and FHC would remain unpublished for some time. The Latin text of the FHC did not appear in print until its inclusion in the *Harmonia confessionum fidei* (1581); the first German printing was not until 1828.⁶⁴⁵ Wishart's posthumously-published *The confescion of the fayth of the Sweserla[n]des* (1548?), therefore, was the first printed edition, and it was probably published to serve as a unifying document in the early stages of Edward VI's reign.⁶⁴⁶ Once Wishart's language had been anglicised, the confession was printed in London by Hugh Singleton or Thomas Raynolde, and said nothing more of its translator than that he was a Scot who had been burned in 1546. Wishart translated from a Latin manuscript, but added a final passage from the German version by Bullinger and Jud, which was never officially part of the confession.⁶⁴⁷ His access to this limited manuscript addition helps to substantiate the contention of Leslie and others that he was for a time in 'Germany', and provides indirect evidence for a sojourn in Basel or Zürich, where these manuscripts were to be found.

A.3.b The First Helvetic Confession

⁶⁴⁴ See Philip Schaff, ed, *The Creeds of Christendom*, 6th edn rev. David S. Schaff, 3 vols (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1993): 1.388; H.A. Niemeyer, ed, *Collectio Confessionum* (Leipzig: 1840): xxx-xxxvii; Martin Friedrich, 'Heinrich Bullinger und die Wittenberger Konkordie: Ein Ökumeniker im Streit um das Abendmahl', *Zwingliana* 24 (1997): 59-79 (pp. 71-74). An edition of the First Helvetic Confession will appear in the forthcoming *Edition Reformierter Bekenntnisschriften*.

⁶⁴⁵ Joachim Staedtke, ed, *Heinrich Bullinger Bibliographie*, vol 1, in Fritz Büsser, ed, *Heinrich Bullinger Werke* (Zürich: Theologischer Verlag Zürich): pp. 288-94

⁶⁴⁶ This appears in Laing, *Wodrow Miscellany*, pp. 11-23. In-text references will be to this edition.

⁶⁴⁷ Niemeyer, *Collectio*, p. xxxvii; *Wodrow Miscellany*, p. 23.

The FHC begins by stating that Scripture is self-interpreting and stands above all tradition, 'howe bewtifull and how moch receyued soeuer they be' (11). Patristic commentary is acceptable 'so farre as the Holy Fathers hathe not gone fro [Scripture]'; here was the Reformed Scripture principle to which Knox would adhere.⁶⁴⁸ Scripture's central message is justification by faith:

... that he hathe declared that kyndnes in and throughe Jesu Chryste his onely sone; the which kyndnes is receyuyd by fayth; but this fayth is effectuous through charitie, and expressed in an innocent lyfe (12).

The trinity, creation, original sin, and free will are described in Augustinian terms, and standard orthodox material on the incarnation, resurrection, atonement, and final judgement follows (12-15). The FHC's christological articles clearly contradict the charge against Wishart in Bristol: salvation comes only by 'the marcie of God, and merite of our Sauour Christ', and remission of sin 'by Christes death'. Faith, 'the very trewe gyfte of God', is the key to salvation; good deeds follow faith but do not obtain merit before God (15).

The church is 'the congregacion and eleccion of all holy men'; it is 'euydently knowne onely to the eyes of God' (thus invisible), but is known by the marks of 'certayne externall rytes, institute by Christ' (sacraments) and 'lawful teachynge' (16). Christ is the head of the Church; ministers are chosen either by election or by those 'to whom the Churches depute and apoynt that offyce of chosynge', but 'Romenishe heedes' are not recognised (17). This was a stronger version of the division of true and false churches than the early Scots evangelicals had encountered. Ministers of the church should preach, pray, study Scripture, and ensure discipline, using

⁶⁴⁸ On Knox, see David F. Wright, 'John Knox's Bible', in *The Bible as Book: The Reformation*, ed Kimberly Van Kampen (London: 1998): pp. 51-63.

excommunication or other punishments by the magistrate if necessary in order to bring the 'fautie and vicious ... to amendment' (16-17). The two sacraments of baptism and 'Howslynge' are 'tokens of secrete thynges'; they are not 'naked sygnes, but ... sygnes and verities together', thus distancing the confession from the widespread caricature of Zwingli's memorialism. The signs of water, bread, and wine, are received externally; the 'verities' of 'regeneracyon, and adopcion ... helthe and saluacion found, and remyssyon of synnes' are received internally. Thus, combining Reformed and Lutheran language, the sacraments are both 'badges and tokens of Christian societie' and 'sygnes of the grace of God' (18).⁶⁴⁹

For both baptism and the eucharist, the confession uses 'exhibit' (*exhibere*), a term favoured by Bucer to mediate the sacramental debate among Protestants. Baptism is expressly for 'oure infantes'. In the 'misticall supper' the body and blood of Christ are not 'communed naturally to the bread and wyne, or closed in them as in one place; or put in them by any carnal or meruelous presence', but the 'very communion or participacyon of the Lordes body and blode are exhibited of the Lorde himselfe' (19). If the earlier, basic sacramental statements used mediating language, this discussion left little question that the underlying position was Reformed. But those who claim 'that we attrIBUTE lyttell to the Holy Sacramente' are wrong, for they are an appropriation of 'the vertue of quickenyng and sanctifieng to hym onely which is lyfe' (20).

Church worship includes preaching and sacraments, but 'vescels, garmentes, waxe, lyghtes, alters, golde, sylver ... and chefely Idols and Images' should be 'put awaye' (19-20). This Reformed emphasis on purity of worship and iconoclasm would inform Wishart's own ministry. Heretics

⁶⁴⁹ The language of the sacramental articles in the FHC is, to Friedrich, 'eine zwischen Luther und Zwingli lavierende Fassung': Friedrich, 'Bullinger', p. 71.

are not included in the church, particularly at 'this tyme' the 'Anabaptistes'. But some practices did not constitute idolatry or schism; these 'indifferent' things should be used for the glory of God and edification of the church (21).

Magistrates have the *ius reformandi*, and should ensure true preaching, education, discipline, support for ministers, and care for the poor; they should be obeyed so long as their commands do not transgress God's commands (21-22). Finally, marriage is instituted by God for all, and 'monckely chastite' is 'repugnant bothe to the comune weale and to the Churche' (22-23). At the end of the FHC is Bullinger and Jud's addition to the text, which states that this confession is not a 'certayne rule' for all churches, as 'we knowe no other rule of faythe but the Holy Scripture'; therefore each church could use its own terminology, so long as the meaning was the same (23).

Wishart must have thought that the confession would be useful in Scotland or England, and it is safe to assume that it represents his own theological commitments, particularly as they are corroborated in his trial. Although the FHC is not mentioned by Knox or other chroniclers, there is no particular reason to doubt its posthumous attribution to Wishart. The overall theology of the FHC is clearly Reformed; while it shares its solafideism with Luther, its emphases on the Scripture principle, church discipline, idolatry, and sacramental memorialism are distinct from the material which was presented in most early Scottish evangelical writing. Wishart's translation of the FHC generally sticks close to the Latin text as printed in 1581; later versions, including that in Schaff's *Creeds of Christendom*, vary widely.⁶⁵⁰

⁶⁵⁰ I am unaware whence the divergence in the Latin text arose, but Schaff's version differs sharply from that which Wishart was using, which can be found (apart from the final section) in the *Harmonia Confessionum Fidei, Orthodoxarum, & Reformatarum Ecclesiarum*

Most of the variants in the translation are minor, but it is perhaps noteworthy that in article 26, on the magistrate, Wishart translates the sentence

Huic [magistratui] nos, etiamsi liberi sumus, & corpore & facultatibus omnibus nostris, & animi studio, vera cum fide sancte subiiciendos esse, fidelitatem ac Sacramentum praestare, quantisper huius imperia cum eo, propter quem hunc reueremus, palam non pugnant, scimus

by relating the series to individual freedom rather than to the magistrate:

... and we (howbeit we be free bothe in our body and all oure goodes, and in the studies of oure mynde and thought also with a trewe faythe) knoweth that we shulde be subjecte in holynes to the majestrate, and shulde kepe fydelitie and promes to hym, so longe as his commandementes, statutes, and imperes evidently repungeth not with Him for whose sake we honour and worshyp the majestrates.⁶⁵¹

The German translation rendered this ‘although we are free in Christ, with life, possessions, and all our goods’ we must serve the magistrate.⁶⁵² The Latin could be taken either way, but Wishart’s translation does perhaps show a disposition to less emphasis on absolute obedience.⁶⁵³

(Geneva: Petrus Sanctandreas, 1581). The text is not continuous, but grouped by subject with other confessions.

⁶⁵¹ *Harmonia*, p. 273; *Wodrow Miscellany*, p. 22.

⁶⁵² ‘... ob wir wol in Christo frei sind, mit lib, hab und allem unsern gut...’: Niemeyer, *Collectio*, p. 115.

⁶⁵³ The other significant variants can be listed briefly. In article 20, on the sacraments, Wishart omitted the sentence, ‘Et in ipsa re totus fructus Sacramentorum est’: *Harmonia*, p. 74. The ‘things themselves’ were the regeneration and communion which the elements signified; did this phrase seem overly sacramentarian to Wishart, or did he simply miss the sentence in his translation? The difficult Latin of the end of article 21 on infant baptism (‘quoniam e nobis (qui populus Dei sumus) genitos e populi Dei consortio, reiicere nefas est, tantum non diuina voce designatos: praesertim quu[m] de eorum electione pie est praesumendum’: *Harmonia*, p. 91) was perhaps misconstrued by Wishart: ‘it is wickedness to rejecte and cast out of the felowshyp and company of the people of God them that are borne

A.4 Wishart at Cambridge

Wishart is next found back in England by 1542, at Benet's College (later Corpus Christi), Cambridge. A student, Emery Tylney, wrote forty years later for Foxe a memoir of this 'talle ... polled headed' man of 'Melancholye complexion by his Phisiognomie, blacke heared, long bearded[,] comelye of personnage, well spoken after his countrey of Scotla[n]d'. Although Tylney did not mention Wishart's particular involvement in the college, he described this 'wel traueled' scholar as one who 'taught wyth great modestie and grauitie'. However, some thought him 'seuere' and wanted to see him dead, but he 'amended them' and escaped their plots. Tylney was particularly struck by Wishart's personal habits, including his clothing ('a mantell friese gowne to the showes, a blacke Millian fustian dowblet, and plaine blacke hosen, course newe canuesse for his Shirtes, and whyte fallinge Bandes and Cuffes at the handes'), which he gave regularly to the poor apart from his 'Frenche cappe'. This concern for the poor was also shown by Wishart's habit of giving away his 'course newe canuesse Sheetes'. Wishart fasted 'one meale in three, one daye in foure', and bathed regularly at night. On the whole, Tylney remembered Wishart as a man who wished 'to doe good vnto all, and hurte to none', whose 'Charitie had neuer ende, nyghte, noone, nor daye'.⁶⁵⁴

Nothing further is known of Wishart's stay at Benet's College, though it is clear that he was engaged in public lecturing or preaching, and that he

of us, whiche are the people of God, excepte them that are expressly commaunded to be rejected by the voyce of God, and for this cause chefely, bycause we shulde not presume ungodly of theyr election': *Wodrow Miscellany*, p. 19. 'Tantum non' is the culprit, and Wishart does not seem to be attempting any novel theology in his translation. Wishart adds a small explanatory phrase to article 23, 'but bycause the body and blode of oure Lorde are receyued verely of one faythful soule': *ibid.*

⁶⁵⁴ Foxe 1583, p. 1268.

was sufficiently secure financially to afford black clothing and to give it away. Wishart was, if Tylney's report is correct, only in Cambridge for a year, returning to Scotland in the summer of 1543 with Henry Balnaves and other Scottish commissioners sent to negotiate the marriage treaty with Henry VIII.⁶⁵⁵ No doubt Wishart was lured back to his homeland by the prospect of broadening reforms under the Regent Arran, but by the time he arrived Cardinal Beaton had returned to power and the situation was changing. Perhaps following a stay in Pitarrow, Wishart returned to Montrose and preached in a 'private house next unto the church, except one'; here Erskine of Dun no doubt provided protection, as he was now the constable.⁶⁵⁶ Thus began a period of itinerant preaching which he would pursue until his death, the details of which were recorded by Knox, who was an eyewitness to some of them.⁶⁵⁷

A.5 Wishart's itinerant preaching

Leaving Montrose, Wishart went to Dundee and preached from Romans, also teaching the Ten Commandments, the creed, and the Lord's Prayer in the vernacular (125, 153-54).⁶⁵⁸ He continued in spite of both a charge from the governor to desist, and the cursing of the Bishop of Brechin, until finally the cardinal sent Robert Myll to command him in public to cease preaching (125-26). Wishart, addressing the crowd, claimed that their refusal of 'Goddis Word, and ... his messinger' would bring 'truble unlooked for' unless they repented. This prediction of punishment by God may resemble

⁶⁵⁵ *Ibid.*; Knox, *Works*, p. 125 misdates this as 1544.

⁶⁵⁶ Petrie, *Compendious*, p. 182; Bardgett, 'Erskine', p. 62. Erskine at this stage had just returned from the continent, where with his son he may have visited MacAlpine and Melancthon: *ibid.*, p. 61.

⁶⁵⁷ In-text references will be to Knox, *Works*, vol. 1.

⁶⁵⁸ This combination, which Wishart acknowledged at his trial, suggests catechetical instruction such as was provided in Gau's *Richt Vay*.

the sermons that brought Wishart trouble in Bristol and Cambridge. Although some local gentry, including the earl Marischal, wanted him to stay in the area, Wishart departed swiftly for the 'west-land' (126). Wishart's awareness that he would find support in the southwest reflects the links between evangelicals in the east and west.⁶⁵⁹

The timing of Wishart's departure from Angus and the Mearns is difficult to establish, and Knox's account provides few chronological clues for any of his Scottish travels. It has generally been assumed that the outbreak of plague which drew Wishart back to Dundee was in autumn 1545, and so he may have stayed about a year in the west. One intermediate voyage is possible, as it has been suggested that the 'Scottishman called Wysshert' who arrived in Newcastle on 17 April 1544, wishing to deliver a letter to Henry, can be identified with George Wishart. This individual bore to Henry letters from Crichton of Brunston, declaring that James Kirkcaldy and the Lord Rothes would assassinate the Cardinal, and that along with the Earl Marischal, the Master of Rothes, Sandilands of Calder, and 'friends of lord Grey' (who was in prison), they would destroy abbeys and bishops' houses in the east.⁶⁶⁰ The same Wishart had met Henry by 26 April.⁶⁶¹

An identification of this messenger with Master George is suggested by the latter's associations at some point with most of the plotters mentioned in the letters. This has sometimes been explained by proposing other Wisharts as the culprit, but Durkan points out that only Master George had contacts with Crichton of Brunston and the English at this stage.⁶⁶²

Moreover, Wishart's brother was procurator to the Cardinal, and thus there

⁶⁵⁹ Sanderson, *Ayrshire*, p. 65.

⁶⁶⁰ *LP Henry VIII*, 19(1).228 (no. 350).

⁶⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 19(1).261 (no. 404).

⁶⁶² Durkan, 'Scottish Reformers', pp. 5-7. However, his association with Crichton cannot be positively established before 1545, which was after the fact.

was some potential connection.⁶⁶³ More significantly, Beaton would have been an enemy due to his reversals of the godly fit. Wishart's time spent in England offers some possibility of becoming an agent, but perhaps a more plausible motivation for going south in 1544 was to escape prosecution in the wake of the burnings in Perth in January.

Counter-arguments have tended to focus on Wishart's gentle reputation or his forbearance toward would-be assassins, though Donaldson rightly distances modern sensibilities from sixteenth-century realities.⁶⁶⁴ But an important question seems to have been ignored: why Wishart? It seems extremely improbable that Wishart, with no political experience and a reputation for both prophetic denunciation and defiance of authority, would be sent to negotiate with Henry, particularly since he had already been forced to recant in England not long before. Quite apart from the question whether Wishart would have been willing to play a part in such a plot, the more pressing question is whether the plotters would have been willing to give it to him. If the circumstantial evidence that Wishart was involved in a plot to assassinate Beaton is not unreasonable, it is also not final; the question is not decisive with regard to Wishart's theological influence, and can be left open here.⁶⁶⁵

⁶⁶³ *Ibid.*, pp. 3-4. Durkan's article is not entirely clear on the significance of this connection, apart from correcting accounts which dismiss Master George because of a lack of connections to Beaton.

⁶⁶⁴ Donaldson, *James V-VII*, p. 74. A considerable literature was produced around the turn of the twentieth century which debated Wishart's complicity in the plots against Beaton, dividing along confessional lines. None of these works solves the problem, but one of the more reputable examples is D. Hay Fleming, *George Wishart the Martyr: A Reply to Father Power, S.J., and his "Protestant" Admirer, the Minister of Smailholm*, Knox Club vol. 56 (Edinburgh: Knox Club, 1923).

⁶⁶⁵ If a more certain case could be made, it might offer some comment on Wishart's attitude toward resistance by the lesser magistracy.

Wishart's preaching tour took him to the homes of several evangelical lairds, who must have known one another well enough to send the preacher along. Sometimes the preaching was in private houses, as with the Lockharts of the Bar, sometimes in a parish church, as in Galston, and sometimes at the market cross, as at Ayr (127). Notably, although Archbishop Dunbar turned up to preach a rival sermon in Ayr, he did not attempt to curb Wishart's movements.⁶⁶⁶ At Mauchline, Sheriff Hugh Campbell of Loudon had occupied the church along with some lower nobility in order to protect a 'tabernacle' there, suggesting that Wishart's preaching was already associated with iconoclasm. The gentry with Wishart wanted to take the church by force, but he restrained them, stating that 'Christ Jesus is as potent upoun the feildis as in the kirk'. Hence he preached on a dike, continuing for more than three hours, by the end of which Lawrence Rankin of Sheill had undergone a tearful conversion. Wishart's stay in the west ended suddenly when he heard that plague had arrived in Dundee and left at once (128-29).

Arriving in Dundee, Wishart preached from the East Port in the city walls, the ill outside and the healthy within. Both in his preaching and in his physical visitation he comforted the sick, ministering to poor and rich alike. Knox records only the general gist of his sermon on Ps. 107, but he held forth the 'dignitie and utilitie of the Goddis woord', and the 'promptitude of Goddis mercy', which probably suggest an underlying solafideism (130). Beaton, caught between Wishart's heretical preaching and his popularity in Dundee, did not send an official inhibition against him but rather a priest, John Wigton, to assassinate him; Wishart saw what he was intending, and managed to stop him, only to turn and defend him from an angry crowd (130-31).

⁶⁶⁶ Sanderson, *Ayrshire*, p. 66.

Wishart left Dundee to go to Edinburgh, at the suggestion of the evangelicals in the west, who wanted him to hold a public disputation with the bishops. He stopped in Montrose on the way, spending more time in meditation than in preaching, and again escaped a plot by Beaton to lure him out of the town (131-32). Against Erskine of Dun's better judgement, Wishart continued his journey, not stopping in Dundee but in Invergowrie, where two friends watched his private anguish in prayer. During this time, Wishart predicted repeatedly that his death was imminent; he also predicted that '[t]his realme shalbe illuminated with the light of Christis Evangell' (132-33). In December 1545, he arrived in Leith and preached publicly, but was persuaded to leave by evangelical lairds who kept him in their homes at Brunston, Longniddry, and Ormiston (134). Now accompanied by an admiring and armed John Knox, he preached at Inveresk, where two Franciscans stood at the door of the church trying to persuade people not to enter; while at first he offered a sarcastic welcome to them, he finally denounced them with 'great vehemencye' in the middle of his sermon (135-36). The following two Sundays he preached to large congregations in Tranent. In Haddington, where Wishart stayed with both the evangelical David Forrest and the more cautious Richard Maitland of Lethington, a similarly large congregation was expected, but in the course of three sermons the numbers decreased, owing to pressure from the earl of Bothwell (136-37).

Before his final sermon in Haddington, Wishart received word from his contacts in Kyle that they could not arrange the disputation in Edinburgh. Faced with another small audience, Wishart preached for an hour and a half on the judgements that would befall the town, before turning to a short exhortation and returning to Ormiston (137-38). On his way, Wishart refused to let Knox accompany him, telling him to return to his

pupils as '[o]ne is sufficient for one sacrifice' (139). After dinner, with Cockburn of Ormiston, Sandilands of Calder, and Crichton of Brunston, Wishart sang a metrical Psalm 51 (the Wedderburn version) and went to bed, only to be awakened by the arrival of Bothwell, who took him, promising to protect him from the Cardinal (139-40). However, Bothwell handed Wishart over to the Cardinal in Elphinstone, returning to take Cockburn and Sandilands as well. Wishart was warded by Bothwell until late January 1546, when he was sent to Edinburgh, and then to St Andrews.⁶⁶⁷ Knox believed that his writings in prison had been suppressed (142-45).

Wishart's preaching tour is perhaps most notable for the rudimentary network it exposes, for associations can be found between the evangelical nobility in Ayrshire, Angus, and Fife.⁶⁶⁸ Not only was Wishart the guest of the evangelical nobles, his preaching was also protected by them. Glencairn wanted to force entry in Ayr, and Campbell of Kinzeancleuch in Mauchline, showing their determination to put Wishart in the pulpit, as well as their local influence. Knox offers few details of Wishart's preaching or other activities. It is clear that Wishart presented two completely different faces before an audience: in Dundee, he had predicted bluntly that God would send 'trouble unlooked for' because they had 'refuse[d] Goddis Word', but would later proclaim the 'promptitude of Goddis mercy' to the plague victims (126, 130). Wishart's preaching seems to have had mixed results as well in Bristol and Cambridge; some were drawn to him, others were repulsed.

There was also a distinction between the public and private faces of Wishart. Those who knew him personally tended to report of his gentleness and generosity, but those who only heard him preach might have found him

⁶⁶⁷ *LP Henry VIII* 21(1).39 (no. 88).

⁶⁶⁸ Sanderson, *Ayrshire*, p. 65.

harsh and vindictive, as when a small audience gathered in Haddington. This may be illustrated by the difference between Wishart's experience of would-be assassin Wigton and the disruptive friars in Inveresk. The former came into close contact with Wishart, and found him forgiving; the latter, from a distance, were vehemently denounced from the pulpit.

The preaching tours offer few other clues to Wishart's doctrinal influence. To be sure, iconoclasm followed his visit to the west, where a residual Lollard aversion to images could already be found; after his death, there were incidents in Fife and Dundee as well; even imprisoned on a French galley, some of the castilians refused to reverence the Mass and threw an image of Mary overboard.⁶⁶⁹ This no doubt reflects Wishart's position on the purification of worship in accordance with the Scripture principle: things not commanded by God were idolatrous. Wishart took part in the domestic devotion which was the heart of the evangelicals' experience, as he is found exhorting and singing on the night of his apprehension. Knox was particularly fascinated by Wishart's prophetic vision, with which 'he saw nott only thingis perteaning to him self, but also such thingis as some Tounes and the hole Realme afterward felt, which he foir-spak, nott in secreat, but in the audience of many' (125). These statements tend to reflect an overall emphasis on God's judgement: eventually the righteous would be rewarded, and the wicked punished. A sharp delineation between the kingdoms of God and Satan would also inform Wishart's ecclesiology.

A.6 Wishart's trial and execution

An account of Wishart's trial, on 1 March 1546, was printed in 1548 by John Daye; this account was adopted entirely by Foxe, and from the *Actes*

⁶⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 68, 127; Kirk, 'Iconoclasm', pp. 378-79. Some iconoclasm may have been motivated by baser concerns; see Cowan, *Scottish Reformation*, p. 99-100.

and monuments was used 'woord by woord' by Knox.⁶⁷⁰ Robert Barrant wrote an introduction to this volume, but the authorship is uncertain. Escorted by one hundred armed men from the castle, Wishart on the way 'flang his purse' to a beggar (150). After a sermon on heresy by John Winram, which excoriated the church rather than the accused, John Lauder read the accusations fervently. Wishart knelt in the pulpit to pray, then unsuccessfully appealed to Arran to judge the case; he likewise showed his evangelical belief by appealing to 'the word of God to be my judge' (154). The eighteen charges against Wishart range widely, and his answers are not always complete, as he was not always given time to respond.⁶⁷¹ First charged with disobedience to the governor's command to stop preaching, he cited Acts 5, that he was obeying God rather than men. The sacrament had to be received with the 'inward moving of the harte' or it was ineffective (156); he cited his encounter on the Rhine to explain his statement that the eucharist 'was but a pece of bread, backin upon the asches, and no other thing elles' (158-59). Wishart's adherence to the Zwinglian scripture principle is evident in his appeal to a lack of biblical warrant for auricular confession (137). Regarding the necessity of understanding baptism, Wishart distanced himself from the suggestion of radicalism latent in this charge by suggesting that parents should know what is being promised for the infant

⁶⁷⁰ David Lindsay, *The Tragical death of Daudid Beato[n] ... wherunto is ioyned the martyrdome of maister George Wyseharte* [by Robert Barrant?] (London: John Daye, 1548): title-page; Knox, *Works*, 1.148.

⁶⁷¹ Shaw suggests that the charges of 'rejecting mass, auricular confession, the authority of the priest, the veneration of saints, and purgatory' were 'cleverly designed to arouse the antipathy of the Lutherans also': Duncan Shaw, 'Foreword: Zwingli Research – the Chasm in British Reformation Studies', in Gottfried Locher, *Zwingli's Thought: New Perspectives*, *Studies in the History of Christian Thought* vol. 25 (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1981): p. 373. This assumes a degree of confessional division in Scotland which seems highly improbable at the time, though it is an interesting suggestion.

(158).⁶⁷² On the number of sacraments and extreme unction, Wishart simply denied teaching anything one way or the other (156, 160).

Further accusations dealt with other church practices. Wishart claimed that he had not taught anything about holy water, but like curses, he would accept only what was 'conformable to the word of God' (160). Regarding the eating of meat on Fridays and the criticism of expensive churches, Wishart cited several scriptural passages about the inability to contain God in one place, and added that 'I said never that churches should be destroyed', though this may subtly have evaded the issue of iconoclasm; moreover, he defined the church by the two marks of word and sacrament (162, 165-66). Wishart cited his own practice of fasting in denying the charge that he forbade it (166).

Doctrinal accusations began with the priesthood of all believers, in defence of which Wishart cited 1 Peter 2.5, applying it particularly to those who were 'cuning and perfite in the word of God' (161). Cut short in answering to the denial of free will, he nevertheless cited passages suggesting a connection between freedom and regeneration (161-62). Wishart was direct in denying the intercession of saints and purgatory as charged, stating that these were not found in scripture (162-64). On soul sleep, Wishart again strongly denied radical tenets (167, *cf.* 170). With regard to the church hierarchy, a charge of the denial of monastic vows and encouragement of clerical marriage was turned back at the accusers, many of whom had not 'oweecome the concupiscence of the flesche' (164). General and provincial councils were to be obeyed, said Wishart, so long as they

⁶⁷² On this point, *cf.* the prologue of Tyndale's commentary on 1 John: 'whosoever hath the profession of baptism written in his heart, cannot but understand the scripture, if he exercise himself therein, and compare one place to another, and mark the manner of speech, and ask here and there the meaning of a sentence of them that be better exercised': Duffield, *Tyndale*, pp. 172-73.

were in accord with scripture (165). Beaton took the precaution of sending the audience away before sentencing Wishart to death.

Awaiting execution in the castle, Wishart was asked to make confession to two Franciscans, but he sent them away and asked for Winram (168). According to Buchanan, Winram asked Wishart if he wished the eucharist, and Wishart agreed so long as it was in both kinds; but the cardinal refused to allow this.⁶⁷³ However, eating breakfast with the governor of the castle, Wishart gave an extemporaneous sermon on the sufferings of Christ, broke the bread, and gave out communion in both kinds as a 'memorial of Christ's death'.⁶⁷⁴ Taken to the scaffold to the west of the castle, at which the castle ordinance was directed, Wishart blessed beggars and again refused the Franciscans (169). After a final prayer and exhortation upon the scaffold, forgiving the executioner with a kiss on the cheek, he was hanged and burned (170-71).

A.7 Wishart's theological influence

Wishart's freedom to preach for over two years in different parts of a loose evangelical network, combined with his skills in oratory and his theological sophistication, contributed both breadth and depth to religious dissent in Scotland. To Scottish evangelicals accustomed to solafideism and Bible reading, Wishart offered familiar exhortations to knowledge of scripture and justification by faith. A curious passage in Foxe, which may have come from Emery Tylney (though it appears below his account on the page, in Latin instead of English) underlined this basic evangelical position:

Doctrines of this George.

Faith alone justifies, without works.

⁶⁷³ Geroge Buchanan, *The History of Scotland*, 4 [6] vols, trans. James Aikman, rev. edn (Glasgow: Blackie, Fullarton, & Co., 1827, 1832): 2.356.

⁶⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 2.357.

Works show and exhibit faith.

The Roman church is supposedly the head of the world,

The canon law is the head of the Pope

The ministry of the Mass is the mystery of iniquity.⁶⁷⁵

Showing the commonality of teaching amongst evangelicals on justification and works, this added a generally accepted suspicion of papal authority, but also a new, sacramental element.

Wishart's Reformed theology was thus at once familiar and new, introducing to his hearers

the more practical reform of belief and practice associated with such European centres of reform as Strasbourg and Zürich, with its iconoclastic clearing of the way for change and concentration on the corporate experiences of the Christian community, such as an understanding of the Lord's Supper, the parting of the ways from the mass which lay at the heart of traditional worship.⁶⁷⁶

Sanderson's assessment touches on the transformative aspects of Wishart's theology. Iconoclasm, as mentioned, followed logically enough from the FHC's condemnation of human invention in worship as idolatry, and from Wishart's adherence to the Scripture principle in Zwinglian terms.⁶⁷⁷ But this was part of a larger theological outlook which assumed (so the FHC) that Scripture provided not just what was needed for salvation, but also it

⁶⁷⁵ 'Dogmata eiusdam Georgii.
Fides sola sine operibus iustificat
Opera ostendant & ostendant fidem
Romana ecclesia putatiue caput mundi,
Lex canonica caput Papae
Missae ministerium mysterium iniquitatis': Foxe 1583, p. 1268.

⁶⁷⁶ Sanderson, *Ayrshire*, p. 65.

⁶⁷⁷ On the influence of Zwingli (along with Oecolampadius and Bullinger) in Scotland, see Duncan Shaw, 'Zwinglian Influences on the Scottish Reformation', *RSCHS* 22 (1986): 119-39 (esp. pp. 121-23 which address Wishart briefly); Shaw, 'Foreword', pp. 372-73.

alone contains 'all godlynes and all sorte and maner of facyon of lyfe'.⁶⁷⁸ Hence the Bible contains not only the message that the righteousness of Christ is received by faith, but also prescriptive regulation for church worship and Christian behaviour. An emphasis on scriptural norms for Christian life perhaps explains Wishart's 'desire alwayes prest and readye to doe good', which was expressed in personal austerity and care for the poor.⁶⁷⁹

For the church more generally, the Scripture principle implied not only the idolatry of images, but an extremely simplified form of worship. This made for a sharper division between the true and false churches, and with the addition of church discipline, this Zwinglian ecclesiology falls somewhere between the inclusive church of the wheat and tares and the gathered church of the Radicals. Wishart's theological framework made it possible for the conventicle to consider itself the true church: if 'Romenishe heedes' are not acknowledged, being the false church, then the true church is known only by word and sacrament, and it exists wherever two or three are gathered.⁶⁸⁰ The ministers of the true church are elected by the congregation or those whom it has appointed, and their authority does not come from human institutions:

... any man being cuning and perfite in the word of God, and the trew faith of Jesus Christ, to have his power gevin him frome God ... by the vertew of the word of God.⁶⁸¹

Conversely, those who are 'unlearned' and 'not exercised in the woord of God' do not have the power of binding and loosing, regardless of their

⁶⁷⁸ *Wodrow Miscellany*, p. 11.

⁶⁷⁹ Foxe 1583, p. 1268.

⁶⁸⁰ *Wodrow Miscellany*, pp. 16-17; Knox, *Works*, 1.166.

⁶⁸¹ *Wodrow Miscellany*, p. 17; Knox, *Works*, 1.161 (quotation).

standing in the church.⁶⁸² If the true church did not depend upon institutional sanction, if its ministers were marked by knowledge of Scripture and were chosen by the faithful, it was perfectly logical to think of the purified church apart from the parish and the hierarchy.

If the true church were to exist apart from present institutions, however, it would need to exhibit both its marks, which meant that sacramental practice would take place in unheard-of ways. Here, the physical leap from conventicle to church was probably too great for many who came into Wishart's orbit. However, it is clear from the FHC and the trial that Wishart was a memorialist who placed more emphasis on the 'inward moving of the harte' than the presentation of grace in baptism and the eucharist, and indeed there are sporadic reports of 'sacramentaris' after his arrival.⁶⁸³ What exactly these individuals had done is rarely clear, but before 1550 there is no charge of irregular sacramental practice; if Buchanan is to be believed, though, Wishart had administered the eucharist on the morning of his death. It may simply be that those charged had questioned the nature or efficacy of the Mass; but in any case, this was fostered by Wishart's tours. But shortly after his death is a direct example of his influence.

B. John Knox

Wishart's impact on his protégé John Knox was almost immediately evident. Knox, who probably did not attend Wishart's trial and execution, was nevertheless deeply marked by his weeks as the preacher's bodyguard and assistant. The theological influence of his mentor emerged after Knox

⁶⁸² *Ibid.*

⁶⁸³ *Ibid.*, 1.156 (quotation); for 'sacramentaris', *ADC Public* p. 527 may be too early, but cf. *St And. Form.* 2.59 (no. 367); David Patrick, ed, *Statutes of the Scottish Church 1225-1559*, SHS vol. 54 (Edinburgh: SHS, 1907): p. 123.

joined the castilians in St Andrews during Lent, 1547, bringing his students with him.⁶⁸⁴ Having been persuaded to preach, Knox offered a sermon which not only reflected Wishart's doctrine, but also his thunder.

Knox first became involved in disputations with Dean John Annand, and significantly his first point in defence of the castilians with regard to ecclesiastical authority was that it would be necessary to define the true church. The 'Romane Kirk' was the 'synagog of Sathan', and had degenerated from the purity of the early church (188-89; *cf.* 200). Knox's sermon the following Sunday began with a discussion of the true and false churches, in which he held that just as members of the true church are righteous because they are members of Christ, so the members of the false church of Antichrist were made sinful because of him (190-91). This suggested the possibility of a separate, purified church. Because justification was by faith only, Knox decried indulgences, pilgrimages, enforced fasts, and clerical celibacy as attempts to achieve justification by works, but also accused these practices of blasphemy, and declared the pope to be an antichrist (191-92). It was said of Knox's sermon the following week that 'he stryckis at the roote, to destroy the hole' (192).

Called to explain his preaching before John Winram, Subprior of the St Andrews Augustinian house, Knox faced articles that reflected Wishart's influence. First, no man can be head of the church, and the pope is antichrist, a strong statement of the true and false churches (193-94). Knox was charged with the Scripture principle as well:

Man may nether maik nor devise a religioun that is acceptable to God: butt man is bound to observe and keap the religioun that fra God is receaved, without chopping or changeing thairof.

⁶⁸⁴ For useful accounts of this episode, see Edington, 'John Knox', and Linda Dunbar's forthcoming study of John Winram (Ashgate). In-text references are to Knox, *Works*, vol. 1.

This applied to the sacraments, which should be practised 'as thei war institut by Christ Jesus'; hence the Mass was idolatrous. Other charges recalled earlier trials: there was no Purgatory, praying for the dead is 'vane' (in fact 'idolatrie'), bishops must preach, and tithes did not necessarily belong to the church (194). Winram, evangelically minded himself, engaged in a gentle disputation with Knox, during which the accused underlined his appeal to the Scripture principle (195-97). As this debate continued with 'Arbuckill Gray-Freir', Knox noted that a purified ceremony of baptism according to Scripture would exclude 'spattill, salt, candill, cuide, (except it be to keap the barne from cald,) hardis, oyle, and the rest of the Papisticall inventionis' (197). Here was a practical application of Wishart's theology, though still in theory. Knox in this discussion introduced an important proof-text for the Scripture principle, Dt. 4.2, in an expansive quotation.⁶⁸⁵ With regard to God's commandments, one should 'add nothing to it; diminish nothing from it' (199).

The most tangible link between Wishart's theology and Knox's incipient ministry, however, was that

not onely all those of the Castell, but also a great number of the toune, openlie professed, by participatioun of the Lordis Table, in the same puritie that now it is minstrat in the churches of Scotland, wyth that same doctrin, that he had taught unto thame (202).

The 'puritie' of this eucharist indicates that the service was stripped down to a simple form just as the *Book of Common Order* would prescribe in the 1560s; Knox must have discussed the practicalities of Reformed worship with Wishart, for he was able to articulate a simplified baptism and administer a simplified communion. The eucharist was self-consciously Reformed; James Balfour, later distancing himself from Knox, would claim that he 'was

⁶⁸⁵ On the style of quotation, cf. Wright, 'John Knox's Bible'.

brought up in Martine's opinioun of the Sacrament, and tharefoir he can nott communicat with us' (202). Knox's first Reformed communion service (or services?) must have been startling to participants, but not so much as they might have been: Knox, after all, was ordained, and the service appears to have taken place inside the parish kirk.

C. Official reaction: the Provincial Council of 1549

The Scottish church, having been shaken by the death of Beaton, endeavoured decisive action against heresy under its new primate, John Hamilton, and to that end a Provincial Council assembled in 1549. At this council, among measures to seek out heretical books and have the clergy preach, were instructions for inquisitors who were to bring charges against heresiarchs, non-commissioned preachers, and 'chiefly against those who inveigh against the sacrament of the Eucharist'.⁶⁸⁶ Inquisitors had to take care 'in those districts in which they have not ascertained that there are any heresies amongst their hearers, [to] beware of making mention of heresies unknown to them'.⁶⁸⁷

The articles to seek out were specified by the Council:

In the first place, against those who rail against the sacraments themselves or against the ceremonies, rites, and obserances [*sic*] received by the church and used in the administration of the sacraments, and especially in the sacrifice of the mass, in baptism, confirmation, extreme unction, penance, and the other sacraments.

Here was Wishart's influence partly represented: an increasing number of Scots evangelicals were opposing the ceremonies of the church, particularly the Mass and its sacrificial aspect. The distinction between the true and false church was evidently growing sharper. Likewise, inquisitors were to seek

⁶⁸⁶ Patrick, *Statutes*, p. 124.

⁶⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 126.

out those who disparaged images, fasts and feasts, and ecclesiastical censure.⁶⁸⁸

The more familiar territory of solafideist doctrine was also a target for the inquisitors, who were to seek for those who denied rewards for ‘works done in faith and charity’, Purgatory, or the intercession of saints.⁶⁸⁹ Curiously, to this was added a charge which was leveled at Wishart, the denial ‘that there are any souls of saints now reigning with Christ, even to the judgment day’, hence the denial of the ‘immortality of the soul’. Why soul-sleep was a particular concern for the church is difficult to say, as there is no evidence for this belief in Scotland. Beliefs about ecclesiastical authority was also to be checked, with those who denied the authority of General Councils specified – a charge Wishart had likewise faced.⁶⁹⁰

Clearly, John Hamilton and the Council thought that the lessons of the Wishart trial needed to be taken to heart. Wishart had proved to be far more advanced in his heresy than the evangelicals of the previous two decades, though the stipulations for inquisition did not foresee the possibility of actual sacramental practice amongst evangelicals. Perhaps this new approach to heresy trials is a good gauge for Wishart’s influence.

D. Scotland’s first Protestant

Within the year, a heresy trial occurred, and the inquisitorial list proved useful. While Knox was without question Wishart’s best-known disciple, on a much smaller scale, Wishart’s influence was fully in evidence by 1550 in the lay preacher Adam Wallace. Wallace, in some respects, is the first Scottish Protestant; while Hamilton, Wishart, and Knox all held similar positions, they had all been ordained in the institutional church, had all

⁶⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 126-27.

⁶⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 126.

⁶⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

practised the religion from which they would revolt, and had all spent time abroad. Moreover, none enjoyed a lengthy ministry in Scotland before Knox's return in 1559.

Wallace came from Ayrshire, possibly connected to the Wallaces of Craigie, who had evangelical leanings; he was also connected to the evangelical Cockburns of Ormiston in East Lothian, succeeding John Knox as tutor to their sons. His evangelical connections also included Robert Lockhart of the Bar, who would marry his widow.⁶⁹¹ To Knox, Wallace was 'a sempill man, without great learnyng, but ane that was zelous in godlynes and of ane uprycht lyeff'.⁶⁹² It was in East Lothian that Wallace was apprehended, so he was tried in Edinburgh (237-38).

The charges, according to Knox, were that Wallace 'took upoun him to preach', would 'medle with the Scriptures', had baptised his 'awin barne', denied Purgatory, and prayer to saints and for the dead (238-39). Wallace answered that was not worthy of the vocation of preaching, but

he wold not deny, butt sometymes at the table, and sometymes in other prevey places, he wald reid, and had red the Scriptures, and had gevin such exhortatioun as God pleaseth to geve to him, to such as pleased to hear him (238).

Wallace's answer shows his involvement in a conventicle; he had not tried to preach in a church building. With regard to Scripture, Wallace believed it to be the 'dewitie of everie Christiane to seak the will of his God, and the assurance of his salvatioun, whare it is to be found', namely the OT and NT (238-39). Being asked why he would want 'everie man [to be] a babler upoun the Byble', Wallace replied that this was necessary in light of the fact

⁶⁹¹ Sanderson, *Ayrshire*, pp. 69-70; her discussion here is valuable.

⁶⁹² Knox, *Works*, 1.237. In-text references will be to this volume, including those for Foxe, whose account is reprinted in an appendix to vol. 1. It is possible that Wallace was a student at Glasgow in the late 1530s: *ibid.*, n. 3.

that the bishops did not preach (239). Wallace, producing a Bible, asked for Scripture to be his judge, stating that he was willing to die if he had 'tawght, spokin, or done, in materis of religioun, any thing that repugnes to Goddis will' (240). The Scripture principle was behind Wallace's language.

With regard to the baptism of his child, Wallace cited the 'lack of a trew minister', not as an emergency baptism, but evidently owing to a distinction of true and false churches (240-41).⁶⁹³ Citing frequent Bible-reading, Wallace said that he could not find Purgatory, prayer for the saints or the dead in Scripture, which meant that these were the 'inventionis of men'; the Mass was an 'abomination befoir God' (241).

A similar list of charges is found in Foxe. Wallace had claimed that after consecration, the elements were not changed into the 'very body of God, flesh, bloud, and bone'; the Mass is idolatry; the host is 'but bread, sown of corne, growyng of the earth, baked of mens handes, and nothyng els'; other sacramental heresies were listed, but left aside (545-48). Wallace showed a skill for evasion not dissimilar to Wishart. In the first place, he had only taught what he found in Scripture (having Bibles in German, French, and English 'at his belte'), and he claimed never to have gone against it; when the question was repeated, he recited the words of institution – perhaps an indication that he had them memorised for personal use (545). When he taught, 'which was but seldom, and to them onely which required and desired me', Wallace had stated that when the sacrament was 'truly ministred', God was there 'by his divine power', still evading the basic question (546). Finally Wallace, quoting a number of scriptural passages in support (including John 6), conceded that as Christ was incarnate in 'a naturall body', and died and rose in the same body, this body could not be 'in two places at once' (546-47). This denial of ubiquity was a standard

⁶⁹³ Sanderson, *Ayrshire*, p. 71.

Zwinglian argument and reflects Wishart's memorialism. With regard to the Mass, Wallace had not seen the word in Scripture in three languages, but he knew that which was favoured by men but not in the Bible was 'Idolatry, and abominable in the sight of God'; though he would submit if it could be shown to him in Scripture (547). The final question Wallace evaded with an appeal to Scripture (548).

Imprisoned before his execution, Wallace 'passed ouer that night in singing, and lauding God ... hauing learned the Psalter of Dauid without booke', for the authorities had taken his Bible and other books (549).

A 'simple poore man', Wallace does not appear to have been a particularly public figure to have come to the notice of inquisitors (544). However, both accuser and accused had changed by 1550. Following the recommendations of the Provincial Council, the charges against Wallace were almost entirely focused on sacramental deviance, and there can be no doubt that the accused was thoroughly sacramentarian. But Wallace went beyond earlier evangelicals; he had baptised his own child, and he knew the words of institution in English, strongly suggesting that he was not only preaching to his conventicle, but had administered baptism and perhaps the eucharist: 'private religious practice independent of orthodox provision'.⁶⁹⁴ Thus both marks of the true church could be found on this cell, which had evidently spurned the false church and its idolatry. A strict adherent to the Scripture principle, Wallace was moreover acting as a minister not ordained by the institutional church, but elected by the faithful. In Adam Wallace, the authorities faced a new opponent: a Protestant.

D. Conclusion

⁶⁹⁴ *Ibid.* However, it should be borne in mind that Knox claims to have presided over the first Protestant communion in nearby Calder: Knox, *Works*, 1.250.

George Wishart, having just under three years to do so, contributed both breadth and depth to the evangelical cells he encountered. Public preaching spread a basically solafideist message to a new audience, and private discussion drew on his considerable theological knowledge. Whether Wishart administered the sacraments is not known, though it is not mentioned by Knox; if Buchanan's last-supper eucharist is genuine, it may have been the first of its kind in the country. Iconoclasm and sacramentarianism followed in Wishart's wake, and a new approach to Scripture as prescribing appropriate worship and behaviour. The true and false churches, already sharply distinguished by some evangelicals, were now divided: to be a member of the church of Antichrist was to share his sin of idolatry, and the true, purified church did not need to rely on institutional sanction.

John Knox preached Wishart's doctrine in St Andrews, and even administered communion, marking a shift from evangelical practice to Protestant identity. However, the clearest sign of a shift was a non-ordained man who was steeped in biblical knowledge, committed to solafideism and the Scripture principle, and himself preaching and administering the sacraments: Adam Wallace, Scotland's first Protestant.

Conclusion

A. Postlude

When John Knox returned to Scotland in 1555, he was pleased to find the existence of 'privy kirks' at which the Bible was read and discussed. The first incident Knox records for this time in his *History* is the pious death of Elizabeth Adamson, who, confident of 'the mercy of my God' sang Ps. 103 on her deathbed and refused the Mass, informing the priests that it was an 'idole'.⁶⁹⁵ But Knox, who had now spent time in Edwardian England and Geneva (where Calvin had nearly reached the apex of his influence), was distressed to find that 'diverse who had a zeall to godlyness maik small scrupill to go to the Messe'.⁶⁹⁶ Opposing this practice in his 'privy conferance [and] in doctrin', Knox proclaimed that the Mass was idolatrous, a belief he had received from his mentor George Wishart and defended doggedly in England and Frankfort. Knox eventually dined with David Forrest, John Willock, William Maitland of Lethington, Robert Lockart of the Bar, and Erskine of Dun, in order to debate the question.⁶⁹⁷ Knox argued that the Mass was idolatrous and should be eschewed by the faithful, and found himself answering objections 'for the temperisar', such as the apostle Paul's attendance at the Temple where he 'fanzeid him self to pay his vow with otheris'. Knox answered that the payment of vows had been formerly commanded by God, and was thus not idolatrous; and perhaps Paul's attempt to 'purchase to him the favouris of the Jewes' by observing the

⁶⁹⁵ Knox, *Works*, 1.246-47.

⁶⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 1.247.

⁶⁹⁷ *Ibid.* Willock's return was similar to Knox's: a Reformed preacher who hoped to influence matters in the homeland from which he was in exile. See Duncan Shaw, 'John Willock', in *Reformation and Revolution*, ed Duncan Shaw (Edinburgh: St Andrew Press, 1967): pp. 42-69. Lockart was married to the widow of Adam Wallace, and may have been inclined to greater sacramental independence.

‘verray small pointes of the law’ had not ‘proceeded frome the Holy Ghost’. In fact this argued against ‘thame that wold go to the Messe’ for the ‘avoiding of sclander’, for Paul had run the risk of confirming ‘those obstinat Jewes in thare superstitioun by his exampill’.⁶⁹⁸

This argument bears a striking resemblance to the debates concerning ‘Nicodemism’ on the continent, and it is instructive that the assemblage of evangelicals with whom Knox dined were able to produce arguments in favour of attendance at Mass in spite of contrary belief. Clearly they had thought about the issue before, perhaps in light of Wishart’s teaching; clearly, too, these leading evangelicals were not yet Protestant, but were attending Mass in addition to meeting for Bible-reading and discussion. Their evangelical persuasion also led them to accept, with Knox, that the point of reference for the debate was Scripture, discussed by those who had studied it over years.

Thus began in earnest the shift from evangelicalism to Protestantism in Scotland. Knox discussed this issue with leading evangelicals in Angus, East Lothian, and Ayrshire, on a tour which, unlike Wishart’s, was characterised by private discussion rather than open preaching. In the west, Knox ‘ministrat the Lordis Table’ at various houses; when he returned to Calder in East Lothian, many evangelicals ‘convened, asweall for the doctrin, as for the rycht use of the Lordis Table, which befor thei had never practised’; he was then asked to Dun where the evangelical lairds ‘required that he should ministrat lyikwiese unto thame the Table of the Lord Jesus’. Happily, Knox reported, thereafter these evangelicals ‘refuissed all societie with idolatrie’.⁶⁹⁹

B. Summary

⁶⁹⁸ Knox, *Works*, 1.248-49.

⁶⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 1.249-50.

This incident suggests that Scotland's evangelicals had begun to question whether the Mass was idolatrous, which reflects the teaching of Wishart on the true and false churches. But for a primarily lay movement, there was little initiative to take action. Knox injected both strong disapproval of attendance at Mass and the practice of the eucharist outside the parish church; the conventicle had become a kirk.⁷⁰⁰ It may be suggested, moreover, that Knox's 1555-56 tour shows a distinctive of Ayrshire evangelicalism. With a history of Lollard antisacerdotalism, evangelicals in the southwest may have found Wishart's teaching on the purified true church considerably more palatable than those elsewhere. Knox does not state that his eucharistic services in the west were occurring for the first time, and it was Adam Wallace, an Ayrshire native, who was first charged with deviant sacramental practice in Scotland.⁷⁰¹

The significance of this shift for the tumultuous events of the next five years is clear; estimates of the relative importance of John Knox would do well to consider his religious impact in this respect. For the present study, however, this provides an ending. Luther's teaching on salvation, combined with the reading of the Bible, had become for some Scots the centre of Christian life. Illegal and proscribed, this combination of doctrine and practice indicates a significant commitment on the part of the evangelicals. But it did not take them beyond the bounds of the institutional church.

⁷⁰⁰ Goodare believes that Knox's clandestine meetings, when compared to Wishart's mass preaching, shows Protestantism to have been 'in the doldrums'; thus 'Knox encouraged it to take the only direction left to it: to become an elite separatist group, refusing to participate in Catholic sacraments': Goodare, 'Scotland', p. 98. Though an interesting interpretation, this takes Knox to have been concerned primarily with strategy in a matter which was, to him, entirely theological. Knox had, after all, taken precisely the same stand when it was profoundly unstrategic in Edwardian England.

⁷⁰¹ Cf. Sanderson, *Ayrshire*, *passim*.

Solafideist theology led regularly to the denial of Purgatory or the intercession of saints, and these opinions, more likely to emerge in discussion or behaviour, were behind many of the prosecutions of evangelicals in the 1530s and 1540s. This persecution was understood by the evangelicals as the persecution of the true church by the false church, but their ecclesiology, combined with a lack of leadership, did not suggest anything beyond quiet, passive disobedience. The institutional church may have been dominated by the tares rather than the wheat, but it still provided the sacraments. Only with the preaching of Wishart and the exhortation of Knox did this begin to change.

The impact of evangelical theology in Scotland was felt strongly in the lengthy establishment of Protestantism. Justification by faith alone was a standard, and basic, doctrinal position, crossing later confessional boundaries between Presbyterian and Episcopalian. Embedded in catechisms and confessions, paratextual material in Bibles, and in preaching, solafideism remained central to Protestant piety in Scotland.⁷⁰² Likewise, the central importance of Scripture to the Protestant kirk carried on a tradition stretching back to the Lollards of Kyle. The most significant doctrinal shift from evangelicalism to Protestantism, therefore, was ecclesiological.

C. Prospect

The history of evangelicalism in Scotland before 1550 cannot be a history of 'great men'. The most notable individuals, Hamilton and Wishart, had a combined presence in the country of no more than ten years. Those who produced evangelical treatises for their homeland, with the exception of

⁷⁰² Pace Durkan, 'Scottish Reformers', p. 17, who claims that justification by faith alone 'lost its prominence as an exhaustive account of the event of Christian conversion' amongst Protestants and 'faded into the background of contemporary interest'. On the later centrality of solafideism, see David G. Mullan, *Scottish Puritanism 1596-1640* (Oxford: OUP, 2000).

Alesius, published no more than a single work each. The great majority of Scotland's evangelicals maintained a quiet and unobtrusive existence, and thus they do not appear with great regularity in documentary material. Further research may produce a clearer picture of their interconnections and activities, but it is unlikely to discover more of their theology than is afforded by the scattered texts which remain.

The texts of Scottish evangelicalism yield a great deal of information about their authors and, presumably, their readers. These texts await further critical examination; the identification of sources, particularly, may provide more indication of the theological leanings of their authors. One hopes that some of the natively-printed anticlerical literature may one day surface, as this would provide an interesting point of comparison to those works printed abroad.

The exiled evangelicals, though they continued to develop after they departed, also provide useful insight into the situation at home. Durkan's extensive archival searching has produced a wealth of information on some of these individuals, but there will always be more material to sift through.

Comparative theological studies can provide more insight into both the content and the coherence of evangelical belief in Scotland. An extended treatment of ecclesiology is certainly warranted, and the connection between early views of law and gospel and later covenant theology would provide an interesting link between evangelicals and Protestants.

Likewise, comparative study of other parts of Europe may offer greater insight into the Scottish evangelical experience. Müller suggests that France, the Low Countries, Hungary, and Poland are the most promising areas for such comparative study.⁷⁰³ In the early stages, however, it may be that Spain and Italy likewise offer useful analogies for evangelicals facing

⁷⁰³ Müller, 'Protestant Theology', p. 103.

opposition from church and state, yet committed to solafideist theology and the vernacular Bible.

The study of the Scottish evangelicals is made difficult by a lack of sources, unanswerable questions, and general obscurity. But it offers the prospect of a greater understanding of the evangelicals themselves, the pre-Reformation church with which they shared a tense relationship, and the later development of the Protestant kirk.

Appendix 1: The Coverdale New Testaments

Murdoch Nisbet, or one of his circle, added a considerable body of prefatory and annotational material to his manuscript NT from a printed edition. This printing was one of several overseen by Miles Coverdale in the late 1530s, and it contained useful explanatory devices. The publication history of these NTs, and an examination of the provenance and deployment of their textual aids to the reader, reveal a great deal about Coverdale himself, as well as the influence they had in Scotland when appended to the Nisbet NT. As this edition of the NT has attracted very little scholarly attention, a detailed discussion is necessary to explore the content and method of its additional material, which will in turn help explain their influence on the Nisbet reading circle.

Miles Coverdale (1487/8-1569) is best remembered for the complete Bibles he produced: the first printed Bible in English in 1535, and the Great Bible of 1539, designed to meet the royal requirement for a Bible in every parish church. Coverdale was not a translator of the original languages like Tyndale; rather, in 1535 he produced an English translation based upon the Latin of the Vulgate, Pagninus, and possibly Erasmus; the German of Luther and Leo Jud (in Zürich); and Tyndale's English.⁷⁰⁴ For the GB, he made extensive use of the Matthew Bible [hereafter MB], which was based on Tyndale and edited by John Rogers.

Coverdale came into contact with Thomas Cromwell in 1527, and worked in close association with him until the latter's execution in 1540.⁷⁰⁵ It was through this association that James Nicolson, a native of the Low Countries denizenized in Feb. 1535, was allowed to publish the 1535 Bible,

⁷⁰⁴ Greenslade, *CB 1535*, pp. 13-15; Mozley, *Coverdale*, pp. 78-100.

⁷⁰⁵ *Remains of Myles Coverdale*, trans. and ed George Pearson, Parker Society (Cambridge: CUP, 1846), pp. 490-2 (letters 1-2).

without royal privilege but with a woodcut of Henry VIII distributing Bibles to the bishops.⁷⁰⁶ Nicolson produced reprints of the GB in folio and quarto in 1537, the latter of which received royal license.⁷⁰⁷ Soon afterward, in Aug. 1537, Cromwell obtained royal license for the Matthew Bible, but not, as its publisher Grafton had wished, exclusive rights.⁷⁰⁸ In 1539, license was given to Richard Taverner's Bible (STC 2067) as well as the GB.

Less well-known is Cromwell's work in obtaining royal license for a number of English NTs during this period. After a rapid succession of NT publications on the continent by Tyndale and Joye in 1535-6 (some 14 editions of Tyndale alone), there was a brief lull in publication until late 1537 or early 1538, when Nicolson produced a NT from the Coverdale Bible, with new accessories presumably added by the translator. As some of its notes depend on the MB, it is clear that this was produced after 13 Aug. 1537; as it was picked up the following year by Matthew Crom in Antwerp, it is probable that it was published by early 1538. Although no title-pages survive from the four editions produced by Nicolson, a letter from Coverdale to Cromwell demonstrates that royal license had been obtained for at least one of them. In this letter, Coverdale refers to the license granted 'for the sale of his [Nicolson's] bibles and new Testaments already

⁷⁰⁶ Mozley, *Coverdale*, pp. 110-15; but cf. some refinements in Greenslade, *CB 1535*, pp. 11-12.

⁷⁰⁷ Mozley, *Coverdale*, pp. 122-3; STC 2064 (fol.), 2065 (4o). In all cases, the Bible House catalogue (DMH) offers more detail than STC and should be cross-referenced (STC offers DMH numbers for all Bible and NT entries, and occasionally corrects DMH).

⁷⁰⁸ Pollard, *Records*, 214 (no. 33A) 4 Aug. [1537] (Cranmer's letter requesting Cromwell to obtain license for MB); 216 (no. 33B) 13 Aug. 1537 (Cranmer thanks Cromwell for obtaining license); 219 (no. 33E) after 28 Aug. 1537 (Grafton asks Cromwell for exclusive printing rights, or at least an injunction to clergy to encourage sales).

printed'.⁷⁰⁹ The Bibles were the reprints of 1537. Nicolson did print a better-known NT of Coverdale's which had been licensed, the Latin-English diglot of 1538, but Coverdale was upset by the poor quality of the printing (undertaken after he had gone to France to produce the GB), and was unlikely to commend Nicolson for these. The NTs mentioned must, therefore, be those based on the Coverdale Bible.⁷¹⁰

The falling-out between Coverdale and Nicolson probably ended the latter's career, as after 1538 he disappears as a printer aside from one possible work in 1539 (STC 392.2); Cromwell would not have continued to sponsor a printer rejected by his chosen translator.⁷¹¹ This dispute also

⁷⁰⁹ Coverdale, *Remains*, p. 498 (letter 8). Coverdale was sending Cromwell 'our postils, or ordinary sermons', which Cranmer had 'corrected'. No copy survives, but this was probably a translation of some of Luther's *Kirchenpostille*. The only secondary text of which I am aware to mention this letter in its appropriate context is Lupton's lengthy series on the Geneva Bible (although the author does not make the connection to the diglot): Lewis Lupton, *A History of the Geneva Bible*, 25 vols (London: Fauconberg/Olive Tree, 1966-1994), 11: *Endurance* (1979), p. 114. Although this series is enigmatic and must be read critically, its breadth alone justifies its use. Hall was perhaps overly reluctant to make use of the series: Basil Hall, 'The Genevan Version of the English Bible: Its Aims and Achievements', in W.P. Stephens, ed, *The Bible, the Reformation and the Church*, Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplement Series vol. 105 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995), pp. 124-49 (p. 149 n. 26).

⁷¹⁰ For Coverdale's dislike of the diglot, see Coverdale, *Remains*, pp. 32-3 (the dedication to Cromwell in Grafton and Whitchurch's competing edn); Pollard, *Records*, pp. 243 (no. 38A) (Grafton to Cromwell, 1 Dec. 1538), 245-6 (no. 38B) (Coverdale to Cromwell, 13 Dec. 1538). Nicolson retaliated by producing a second edition of the diglot with the name 'Hollybush' (= Hans van Ruremond), STC 2816.5-7.

⁷¹¹ The dissociation of Nicolson would have pleased Grafton and Whitchurch as rival Bible publishers. After the publication of MB, Grafton was worried that Nicolson would undersell him with a cheap reprint of inferior quality, citing to Cromwell as evidence 'the former bybles that they have set forthe, which hath nether good paper, letter, ynke ner correccyon'. Without naming Nicolson, Grafton refers to certain 'douchemen dwellynge within this realme ... which can nether speke good englyshe, ner yet wryte none, and they

ended a fruitful working relationship. Nicolson, often working for John Gough, produced numerous editions of Coverdale's work from 1535-38: three Coverdale Bibles, four NTs, three diglots, a volume of the books of Solomon, and ten translations of continental Protestant works, especially from German.⁷¹² (It is worth noting that Nicolson may have known Alesius, as the latter may have brought to him the 1535 *Loci Communes* on behalf of Melanchthon, to be delivered to the king through Cromwell.)⁷¹³

Not only were these four NTs and the Coverdale diglots licensed under Cromwell during 1537-9; royal license was also granted in 1538 to a NT based on the MB and a Latin-English diglot of Tyndale and Erasmus, and in 1539 to a later printing of the CNT by Crom, and a NT from the translation of Richard Taverner.⁷¹⁴ The market must have been considerable, for four more NT editions appeared unlicensed from Antwerp in 1538, three from the press of Matthew Crom, and the other from Guilielmus Montanus – all CNTs. In addition to lay use, this energetic production was stimulated by the 1537 injunction of Latimer in Worcestershire that 'every religious person' should own 'at the least a New Testament in English'. The injunction from Cromwell on 5 Sept. 1538 had stipulated that every parish must have 'one booke of the whole Bible of the largest volume in Englyshe'. Moreover, laymen were to be encouraged to read or listen to the Bible 'privily or

wilbe bothe the prynters & correctors therof [of the Bible], because of a lytle couetousnes that wyll not bestow xx or xl li to a learned man to take payne in yt to haue yt well done': Pollard, *Records*, pp. 219-20 (no. 33E), Grafton to Cromwell after 28 Aug. 1537. This explains why Coverdale then turned to Crom for printings, as the latter had probably printed the MB for Grafton and Whitchurch.

⁷¹² These may all be referenced in the STC list of printers in vol. 3.

⁷¹³ Mozley, *Coverdale*, pp. 111-12 quotes the relevant letter, but does not comment on the connection between Alesius and Nicolson. It is not certain that this connection existed.

⁷¹⁴ A GB NT appeared in 1539 as well, but I have not been able to discover whether it received royal license.

apertly', though avoiding contention and referring 'the explication of obscure places to men of higher judgement in scripture'.⁷¹⁵ This injunction did not include NTs, and whether it affected their sales is questionable.

What slowed the rapid production of NTs was perhaps a glut on the market, but more probably the royal Injunction of 16 Nov. 1538, which prohibited the importation or domestic printing of any books in English without special license. The Injunction further specified that 'bokes of diuine scripture' in English with marginal notes or prologues had first to be examined, that the translator must be named, and that the license had to include the phrase 'ad imprimendum solum', which prevented the view that one version was specially favoured.⁷¹⁶ While this Injunction was inclusive of all printed vernacular scriptures, it appears to have been aimed particularly at those versions which went beyond the 'playne sentence and texte', the most notable of which were the MB and its NT, and the CNTs. Of these, by far the best-seller was the CNT, which saw nine editions in less than three years. The final edition, printed by Crom in 1539, directly reflects the injunction. Unlike Crom's first three editions, Coverdale is named as the translator, and 'Cum Gratia & Privilegio Regali, ad imprimendum solum' is printed on the title-page.⁷¹⁷

If indeed the 16 Nov. 1538 Injunction was aimed at the CNT, it is not by any means the only witness to the influence of this NT version. Around April 1543 the English Parliament prohibited all biblical translations by Tyndale, and required other Bibles and NTs to have their 'annotations or preambles' cut or blotted out. Again, the CNT and MB were the main

⁷¹⁵ Pollard, *Records*, p. 261-2 n. 1 (no. 43) (Latimer and 5 Sept. 1538 injunctions).

⁷¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 240-2 (no. 37).

⁷¹⁷ For the details, see DMH 48.

offenders.⁷¹⁸ More directly still, on 8 Jul. 1546 a royal proclamation stipulated that after 31 Aug. no-one should own 'the text of the New Testament of Tyndale's or Coverdale's translation in English', nor indeed any book in English by these two (and others).⁷¹⁹ Among the numerous references to the reading of NTs by laypeople, it is rarely possible to pinpoint versions after 1534. There is, however, a clear reference in Thomas Becon's *The Jewel of Joy* (1550). Written as a dialogue, the work features one speaker who has recently visited the Peak District. Asked about the state of religion there, he mentions one Alsop in a village called Alsop in the Dale, who owned books which he called his 'jewels and principal treasures'. Among these was 'the new testament, after the translation of the godly learned man Myles Coverdale, which seemed to be as well worn by the diligent reading thereof as ever was any portass or mass-book among the papists'.⁷²⁰ Likewise, Foxe's account of Edward Benet mentions that in 'about the second year of the reign of queen Mary', Benet was asked to take a NT to a prisoner called Tingle in Newgate. 'He, procuring one of master Coverdale's translation', was unsuccessful in smuggling it in.⁷²¹ It is conceivable that these two examples from the 1550s refer to the GB NT, but as Coverdale's name appeared on the title-page of some of the CNTs, this is a more obvious connection.

A number of copies of the CNT survive, one of which adds an interesting detail about the influence of this volume. This was a 16mo copy

⁷¹⁸ Moreover, this Act restricted reading of the vernacular Bible aloud to noblemen, though it could be read privately by noblewomen, merchants, and others above the rank of artificer. Mozley, *Coverdale*, pp. 283-4; *Statutes of the Realm* 3.894; Foxe 5.527.

⁷¹⁹ Mozley, *Coverdale*, pp. 286-7; *LP Henry VIII* 21(1).1233; 17.177; Foxe 5.565.

⁷²⁰ Thomas Becon, *The Catechism of Thomas Becon*, trans. and ed John Ayre, Parker Society (Cambridge: CUP, 1844), p. 420.

⁷²¹ A&M 1843, 8.561.

of the gospels only, printed by Montanus in red and black, with license. On an unprinted leaf prior to the text is an interesting inscription:

Amonge good thinges I proue and finde, The quiet life doth muche abounde, and
sure to the contentid mynde, ther is no riches [richer?] may be founde. Your louinge
maistres. Elizabeth

The then-princess (she does not include R. in her signature) was addressing herself to her maid Ann Poynts, who in turn inscribed a poem (for Elizabeth?).⁷²² Neither poem has any religious theme. Whether this copy of the gospels was a gift from one to the other is difficult to say. Another inscription is from 'your louyng mother M.P.', perhaps indicating that Ann had been given it by her mother. Also in the preliminary leaves are pasted two small paintings, one of Windsor Castle (92mm X 61mm) and the other of a knight (47mm X 77mm). The first is unsigned, but the second has the initial 'ER VI'. The inclusion of these miniatures does not necessarily indicate that Edward VI owned the Montanus CNT gospels, but it is surely possible.⁷²³ Still another CNT has potential royal connections, a Crom printing which has a contemporary binding featuring the royal arms and a Tudor rose.⁷²⁴

⁷²² STC 2840. The copy is BL C.45.a.13, which lacks the t.p. There are other inscriptions before the text as well. Could this represent a separate print-run of gospels only? The verso of the final page of John has the red border but no text in both this copy and the full Montanus NTs. I am grateful to Vivienne Westbrook for her assistance on this point. The inscriptions are mentioned in J.R. Dore, *Old Bibles: An Account of the Early Versions of the English Bible*, 2nd edn (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1888), pp. 94-6. Elizabeth initially signed herself 'Your louinge friend', but erased this (the 'f' is still visible) in favour of 'maistres'. Brief comparison shows this to be Elizabeth's signature, as was attested by one 'having many Letters of her writing Jn.^o Waller' on another preliminary leaf.

⁷²³ I have not been able to compare the initial to any which are certainly Edward's.

⁷²⁴ This copy is in the Bible Society's Library, DMH 41. The 'G.G.' on the binding has, according to DMH, been 'sometimes identified with Garret Godfrey'.

In spite of its numerous printings and demonstrable influence, the CNT is rarely mentioned in any secondary literature on the history of the English Bible, and is never thoroughly examined. This scholarly lacuna may be explained by two factors: first, textual comparison dominates most histories of the English Bible, and the CNT is identical to the 1535 Coverdale Bible in this respect; second, the CNT falls chronologically between the more textually significant MB and GB. But the CNT was very important indeed; it was not printed as often as Tyndale's NTs, but it dominated the market while Cromwell was obtaining license for it and other translations. Moreover, it was more heavily annotated than all other editions save the MB NT, and as such was targeted by conservative royal decrees. In fact, it appears that Coverdale was using primarily the CNT and MB notes for his planned notes on the NT in the GB. Of the 229 markers in the NT of the GB, only 40 (17.5%) are placed at a phrase not annotated in either (or occasionally both) the CNT or MB.⁷²⁵

The textual aids to the CNT were, following Coverdale's practice, largely lifted from other sources, including much translation from German. This, along with the naming of Coverdale on the title-page of some CNTs and his letter to Cromwell commending the Nicolson printings, indicates that the translator himself was almost certainly responsible for the expansions in the earliest editions. There is little variance among the four Nicolson printings, and no marked editorial change. The Montanus edition in 16mo reproduces Nicolson exactly in its text, though with a red border

⁷²⁵ Without any annotational text to go with the GB markers, this is of course to a degree conjectural; however, the high degree of agreement does seem more than coincidental, particularly when bearing in mind that Coverdale was responsible for the CNT notes. Moreover, the notes in the CNT composed by Coverdale himself often assume knowledge of the OT, which suggests that they were ultimately intended for a complete Bible.

and different (and more) woodcuts. This edition is particularly curious in that it is the only English title ever published by this Antwerp printer. Montanus names Coverdale on the title-page, and begins with a 'To the Reader', which may have come from the Nicolson editions as well. Whether or not Coverdale was directly involved in the Montanus edition, he does appear to have revised his NT slightly for Crom, probably after the falling-out with Nicolson. Crom's connection with Grafton during the production of the MB probably led to his new association with Coverdale while the latter was in Paris, and indeed from 1541-2 Coverdale published at least three English translations with the Antwerp printer.⁷²⁶ Crom may have had previous experience publishing English NTs with three Tyndale editions in 1536, and probably printed the MB for Grafton and Whitchurch.⁷²⁷ For the purposes of understanding Nisbet, Nicolson's editions are the most important, though important editorial shifts in later editions should be noted.

Aids to the reader in the Nicolson New Testaments

Nicolson's CNTs survive only imperfectly, so it is impossible to say exactly what all the preliminaries were. A copy of STC 2838 at Cambridge (Young 153) foliates the Prologue from A.i. (and re-starts from this number at the beginning of the text of Mt.), but this has only 6 leaves, ending at the conclusion of the Summe to Mt. If there was another leaf for the title-page, its verso could perhaps have included the 'To the Reader' which is included by Montanus and Crom, or if there were more leaves, perhaps a Calendar or Almanac. But the only preliminary which survives is the Prologue, also found

⁷²⁶ STC 4045, 4070.5, 10808. Crom published other English translations during 1541-4, though without naming the translator(s).

⁷²⁷ STC 2832-4. These may have been produced by the widow Endhoven, however. Crom did publish another Tyndale NT around 1543, STC 2848.

in Montanus and Crom with a few minor changes. Most of the Prologe was translated from the German of Luther's 1536 Bible.⁷²⁸ Coverdale translates Luther very closely, but also goes beyond Luther's prologue to add shortened versions of the exhortations at the end of his 'A prologe' in the 1535 Bible and the Nicolson reprints, which instruct readers to heed the teaching of the Bible according to their vocations.⁷²⁹

Placed before each book in the Nicolson and Montanus editions (before each chapter in Crom) was a Summe of the contents of each chapter. Coverdale included these in the 1535 Bible, and appears to have taken them from the 1534 Zürich Bible summaries.⁷³⁰ The Summe is not contentious, but offers a brief description of the contents or events in the chapter.⁷³¹

⁷²⁸ The text of Luther's 1536 NT prologue (in a complete Bible) was very similar to other editions between 1534-41, but at STC 2838 fol. A.[ii].recto Coverdale's 'he shall buylde an house for my name' follows Luther's 1536 text, which expanded the previous 'der soll mir ein haus bawen'. The connection to the 1536 edn is strengthened by the following phrase, 'I wyll stablysh the seate of hys kyngdom for euer', which follows Luther's 1536 'Vnd ich wil den Stuel seines Ko[e]nigreichs bestetigen ewiglich', which updated the older 'ich will sein reich festigen ewiglich'. Finally, at fol. A.[ii].recto, Coverdale's use of 'Ephrata' and 'gouernoure in Israel' follow Luther's 1536 text, as prior versions omit 'Ephrata' and at the end include 'meins volcks Israel'. In all cases, these changes were added to the separately-published Luther NT only in 1539, which was too late for use by Coverdale; hence the edition he used was the complete Bible of 1536. For the critical edition of Luther's NT, see *WADB*. For a bibliography of Luther's NTs and Bibles, see *ibid.*, 6.xxi-xxii; for the relevant prefatory text, 6.2 and *NTScots* 1.3. Tyndale had translated portions of Luther's earlier prologue, but this was not employed by Coverdale. See *The First Printed English New Testament. Translated by William Tyndale*, ed Edward Arber (London: Facsimile Texts, 1871), fol. A.ii.r-B.[iv].r, *passim*.

⁷²⁹ Cf. *CB 1535*, unfoliated leaf recto prior to fol. 1 for the 1535 text; pp. 42-3 for the Nicolson reprint.

⁷³⁰ Greenslade, *CB1535*, p. 12. He used this edition of the Zurich Bible for cross-referencing as well.

⁷³¹ The non-contentious nature of the Summe is demonstrated by the fact that Henry still allowed it in the 16 Nov. 1538 Injunction, referring to 'a table or repertorie, instructyng'

All the CNT printings include Tyndale's preface to Romans; Crom included Tyndale's shorter prefaces to other NT books as well. The Romans Preface has its ultimate provenance in Luther's NTs, and in this form, it was one of the most frequently-published early Protestant tracts, 'one of the classics of Protestant theology', whose influence reached as far as Aldersgate strangely to warm John Wesley's heart in 1738.⁷³² Tyndale's translation, originally published as a pamphlet in 1526 and later incorporated into the NTs of 1534-5, added significant material about the Christian and the law of God in the course of a free translation. This has sparked scholarly debate concerning just how Lutheran Tyndale was, an issue which is addressed in Appendices 2 and 3. Coverdale transcribed almost word-for-word Tyndale's slightly revised Romans Preface from the 'GH' NT of 1535 or a later printing.

Within the text of all CNTs, in addition to markers for liturgical reading and marginal references, are a number of annotations or glosses. These notes were not in the margins, as in the Tyndale NTs; rather, they appeared at the ends of chapters in the same typeset as the verses, though delineated by the heading 'glose upon the ... chapter'. Thus the text could be read almost continuously, the only interruptions being the markers for annotations.⁷³³ The annotations were a new endeavour for Coverdale. His Bible included a few variant readings, but nothing further; nor had Tyndale gone very far beyond lexical clarification in his NT margins. The 1537 MB had been the real pioneer in Protestant glossing in English, with John Rogers drawing upon a number of sources for his scholarly comments.

the reader to fynde redely the chapiters conteyned in the sayd boke, and the effectes therof': Pollard, *Records*, p. 242 (no. 37).

⁷³² For the quotation, E.G. Rupp, *Studies in the Making of the English Protestant Tradition (Mainly in the Reign of Henry VIII)* (Cambridge: CUP, 1947), p. 49.

⁷³³ On textual layout, see David Norton, *A history of the Bible as literature*, 2 vols (Cambridge: CUP, 1993-4), 1: *From antiquity to 1700* (1993), p. 166.

Annotating the Bible was, however, a well-established practice: the *Glossa Ordinaria*, for example, which presented the Vulgate text surrounded by patristic comment (later with commentary by Nicholas of Lyra) had been available in manuscript since the twelfth century, and was printed numerous times beginning in the 1470s. But theological tenets affected the way in which the English translators prepared their texts.⁷³⁴ A humanist impulse to free the text from its misuse or neglect at the hands of scholastic interpreters and to return to the original languages, combined with the Protestant doctrine that the authority of Scripture was the ultimate source and sole judge of theology and practice, led to a desire to find the original sense of the text, shorn of its later accretions. Moreover, for humanist and Protestant alike, the text of the Bible should be accessible to laypeople; Tyndale reiterated Erasmus's desire for ploughboys to know Scripture.⁷³⁵ Hence the project of vernacular translation was of such vital importance that convinced translators would risk, and occasionally lose, their lives in order to make it available.⁷³⁶

Thus the translators wanted the text to speak for itself: Tyndale famously offered to surrender himself to Henry if only he were allowed to produce a bare text of the NT, and indeed his first complete NT of 1526 was

⁷³⁴ There is a large body of scholarly material on the following issues, a good representative being Roland Bainton, 'The Bible in the Reformation', in *The Cambridge History of the Bible*, 3 vols, ed S.L. Greenslade (Cambridge: CUP, 1963-70), 3: *The West from the Reformation to the Present Day* (1963), pp. 1-37. For a clear and concise discussion of Tyndale in these respects, see Carl R. Trueman, 'Pathway to Reformation: William Tyndale and the Importance of the Scriptures', in *A Pathway into the Holy Scriptures*, ed Philip E. Satterthwaite and David F. Wright (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1994), pp. 11-29 (pp. 14-18).

⁷³⁵ S.L. Greenslade, 'English Versions of the Bible, 1525-1611', in *Cambridge History of the Bible*, 3.141-74 (pp. 141-2).

⁷³⁶ On aspects of vernacular translation, see Norton, *History of the Bible*, pp. 73-5.

just such a version.⁷³⁷ But vernacular translation was a tricky business, for in spite of the understood perspicuity of the text, a number of passages were sure to confuse the most well-meaning readers. So annotation found its way back into the text of the Bible, still as an explanatory device, but with a different audience altogether. The methodology, as a result, had also to differ. Tyndale (ironically?) annotated the prohibition of adding to the word of God in Dt. 4.2: 'No: nor yet corrupt it with false glosses to confirm Aristotle: but rebuke Aristotle's false learning therewith'.⁷³⁸ Clarification was the object of annotation, and its opponent was the medieval fourfold sense of Scripture.

If Scripture was the final authority, how could one presume to clarify the 'dark' or 'obscure' parts of the text while rejecting traditional ecclesiastical authority? The translators here employed the concept of the *analogy of faith* – that Scripture interprets itself (the term is taken from Rom. 12.6). Coverdale stated it:

For to laye scripture vnto scripture / and mekely to compare one place of it vnto another / is in my mynde the moste cleare and indifferent waye / both to make the ignoraunte vnderstande it / and to stoppe the mouthes of euell speakers.

But human interpreters still had to make these connections, and Coverdale acknowledged his own limitations:

And as I do herin despyse no Pprophecyenge [sic] / no holye Doctoure / no true interpreter / of scripture / so do I humbly submytte this my poore laboure vnto the holy gooste / in suche as be learned in the true churche and congregacyon off God / whose grace be oure gyde now & euer. AMEN.⁷³⁹

⁷³⁷ Pollard, *Records*, pp. 170-1 (no. 23).

⁷³⁸ Tyndale's *Old Testament, Being the Pentateuch of 1530, Joshua to 2 Chronicles of 1537, and Jonah, Translated by William Tyndale*, ed David Daniell (New Haven: YUP, 1992), as cited.

⁷³⁹ From the Montanus 16mo CNT, STC 2840, fols +.viii.recto-+.viii.verso. The prefatory material survives in Cambridge Young 158. This passage should also correct

For consistency's sake, no Protestant translator or glossator could lay claim to final authority, and Coverdale is willing for his work to be judged – but not by just anyone. Coverdale submits his work first 'vnto the holy gooste', the key to correct interpretation in Protestant theology; 'in suche as be learned', introducing the element of exegetical expertise; 'in the true churche and congregacyon off God', thus excluding traditional ecclesiastical authorities.

These guidelines are apparent in most Protestant annotations of the early sixteenth century. While Tyndale and Rogers (MB) especially have been accused of writing polemical notes, a reading of their margins displays few such annotations; rather, the notes consist primarily of lexical explanation or comparison of a difficult passage to others which explain it, albeit with an identifiably Protestant slant.⁷⁴⁰ The same is entirely true for Coverdale. While his notes are undoubtedly oriented toward a Protestant interpretation of Scripture – especially with regard to justification by faith – they are on the whole explanations for confused readers, and meant for their 'edifyenge'.⁷⁴¹ His confidence in the analogy of faith is reflected in a gloss on Mk 3.31, in which he warns his readers of the view 'that the Scripture is contrarye to the self, quhilk God forbyd ony Christynne man do affirme'.

Coverdale took about half of his notes from Luther's 1536 German Bible, usually translating them straight into English, but occasionally modifying them. The other half are difficult to identify, and many probably

misperceptions of the post-Reformation slogan *sola scriptura*, a concept which has recently found a helpful corrective in Anthony N.S. Lane, 'Sola Scriptura? Making Sense of a Post-Reformation Slogan', in *A Pathway into the Holy Scripture*, pp. 297-327.

⁷⁴⁰ For a corrective, see David Daniell, *William Tyndale: A Biography* (New Haven: YUP, 1994), pp. 329-30; cf. pp. 117-19 (1525 NT fragment), 308-12 (OT).

⁷⁴¹ STC 2840 (Montanus CNT), fol. +.viii.recto.

come from Coverdale's own hand as he attempted to anticipate the points over which his readers might stumble. At least 13 and possibly up to 20 come directly from the MB (and in other places, Coverdale and Rogers independently translate the same note from Luther).⁷⁴² The notes are distributed unevenly: fully 57 of the 208 annotations are found in the gospel of Matthew, 30 in John, and 27 in Romans – hence over one-half in three books (albeit important ones!). The distribution within these books is curious. The overwhelming majority of notes to Matthew (52/57) come from Luther, compared to 7/30 of those on John. Just over half of the notes on Romans (15/27) come from the German champion of that epistle. Some books have no annotations, notably Revelation. It is difficult to make sense of this material. Did Coverdale have assistants? In any case, the unevenness probably shows some haste in the production.

The notes remained almost exactly the same for the Nicolson and Montanus editions, but when Crom took over the printing, some changes were made, possibly by Coverdale.⁷⁴³ In the first place, it seems that an abortive filling-out of the annotations based upon the MB was undertaken, as some nine notes are added to the gospel of Matthew from this edition, but none anywhere else. Secondly, the Crom editions remove six anti-papal or anti-Catholic references from the notes. Four of these were based on Luther,

⁷⁴² A provisional tally is that 79 were lifted directly from Luther, 37 slightly modified from Luther, and 92 written by Coverdale or taken from other sources, including those from MB. I have examined a number of contemporary Bibles and NTs, and can rule out at least the use of English versions other than the MB; nor have I found Coverdale using annotations from German, French, or Danish editions. The possibility does remain that he was working from commentary material.

⁷⁴³ The difference between the Nicolson and Montanus editions is that the latter omits all notes on Acts except for those in chapters 27-28, probably by accident. It is this fact which shows that Nisbet relied on one of Nicolson's printings.

though the other two may have been Coverdale's own.⁷⁴⁴ In all these cases, the note remained, being shorn only of its controversial reference. Crom omitted two complete notes and a portion of a third, perhaps simply by mistake (1 Cor. 7.35a, 2 Cor. 5.21 [where a textual marker was included], Jas 1.13). Crom also made a few mistakes, such as the note on 1 Pt. 3.21, where his 'outwarde workynge of the holy hoost' replaced the inward working of the Holy Ghost.

When this edition was in preparation, Coverdale was probably already in Paris working on the GB. Among his tasks was annotation, and the changes in the Crom CNTs may reflect Coverdale's progress. As early as 23 June 1538, Coverdale reported to Cromwell that he was preparing 'annotacions in another table ... without any singularyte of opinions'.⁷⁴⁵ This might explain Coverdale's care in removing the controversial material from the notes. After the Injunction of 16 Nov. 1538, which required that annotations be examined and approved, Coverdale appealed to Cromwell on 13 Dec. for those in the GB:

Pitie it were, that the darck places of the text (vpon the which I haue allwaye set a hande) shulde so passe vndeclared. As for anye pryuate opynion or contencious wordes, as I wyll utterly avoyde all soche, so wyll I offre the annotacions first to my sayde lord of Herdforde; to the intent that he shall so examen the same, afore they be put in prynte....⁷⁴⁶

⁷⁴⁴ From Luther: Mt. 5.19; 9.15; 24.15; 1 Cor. 7.35. Not from Luther: 1 Cor. 7.23; 1 Tim. 5.20.

⁷⁴⁵ Pollard, *Records*, p. 235 (no. 36A). This was reiterated on 9 Aug., *ibid.*, p. 237 (no. 36C).

⁷⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 245 (no. 38B).

If the Crom editions were produced in the latter part of 1538 (remembering that dating was still old-style at this point), Coverdale might have given up his additions from the MB after learning of the Injunction.⁷⁴⁷

The following year, Crom produced one final edition of the CNT, which reflects the Injunction of 16 Nov. 1538 in some ways: Coverdale is named as the translator, the words 'Cum Gratia & Privilegio Regali, ad imprimendum solum' appear on the title-page (unlike Crom's other CNTs), all annotations are removed after the gospels, and there is some editing of those in the gospels. The preliminaries and appendices (including Crom's additions, the Almanack and 'summe & content'), as well as the Romans Preface, however, remain. Whether this printing had been officially vetted, as it claimed, is questionable.

The CNT was a significant step in the development of the English Bible. Frequently printed, it was an attempt to provide laypeople with the basics of their salvation: the text of the gospels and epistles with helpful interpretative guidance in the Prologue, Romans Preface, and notes. While it was identifiably Protestant, it was rarely overtly polemical. Published in a convenient and inexpensive octavo (and one 16mo), it could be purchased by individuals from diverse social strata, carried easily from place to place, and perhaps smuggled unobtrusively into forbidden realms.⁷⁴⁸

⁷⁴⁷ Mozley points out that this letter indicates that the notes were not yet finished by 13 Dec.; he doubts whether Cromwell ever submitted them to the council: Mozley, *Coverdale*, pp. 257-8.

⁷⁴⁸ This may qualify Lynch's statement regarding the 1590s, 'the day of the pocket bible had not yet arrived': Lynch, *Scotland*, p. 258.

Appendix 2: Law and Gospel in the Romans Preface

Murdoch Nisbet's NT incorporated a great deal of material from a printed NT, among which was Tyndale's revised translation of Luther's preface to Romans. While this revised preface is generally Lutheran in theme and exposition, it may be asked whether Tyndale in his editing changed the understanding of law and gospel presented in it to a more Reformed position.⁷⁴⁹ Consideration of this question in its historical theological context will illuminate the impact such changes might have made on an Ayrshire audience.

Leonard Trinterud argues that Tyndale's additions to the Preface – and he does expand considerably in places – include theological assumptions alien to Luther. Importantly, the author begins this analysis by conceding that '[w]hether Tyndale realized that he was differing from Luther is not our present concern'.⁷⁵⁰ Trinterud offers brief analyses of several of Tyndale's works, beginning with the prologue to the Cologne NT Fragment, which was also a significantly-expansive translation of Luther. In this prologue, Tyndale does not change material from Luther, but his additions show a concern for the fulfilling of the law by Christians which, according to many accounts, is alien and even opposed to the German reformer.⁷⁵¹ The same distinction obtains in Tyndale's additions to the Romans Preface. To begin with, on three occasions he adds the word 'only'

⁷⁴⁹ A basic distinction between Tyndale and Luther is that the former did not follow the latter in emphasizing the objective aspects of guilt and atonement in justification, focusing rather on freedom from the bondage to sin: Trueman, *Luther's Legacy*, pp. 119-20, *et passim*. But as Tyndale's Romans Preface incorporates an entire work of Luther's, the distinction is not pronounced in this work.

⁷⁵⁰ L.J. Trinterud, 'A Reappraisal of William Tyndale's Debt to Martin Luther', *CH* 31 (1962): 24-45 (p. 27).

⁷⁵¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 26-7.

to the statement that works only cannot fulfil the law. Further, Tyndale makes more of the role of love enabling the believer to fulfil the law; whereas both writers agreed that the law required love, Luther did not develop this so fully. To Trinterud, these changes have 'Augustinian' roots, are indebted to Christian humanism, and possibly rely on Melancthon.⁷⁵² A similar change is seen in Tyndale's additional emphasis on the role of the Holy Spirit.⁷⁵³ Trinterud claims that in his later writing, Tyndale became more explicit in these matters, and wandered farther from Luther. In conclusion, he claims that 'when Tyndale's whole career is examined there is to be found no ground for calling him a "Lutheran" in the strict theological sense of the word'.⁷⁵⁴

Trinterud's articles have spawned controversy about Tyndale's theological connection – or lack thereof – to Luther. In the most important recent work, Carl Trueman adopts the distinction between Tyndale and Luther as regards law and the Christian life, but denies a radical difference between the two on justification.⁷⁵⁵ Clebsch is willing to accept Trinterud's radical disjunction between Luther and Tyndale, but only at a later date; in the Romans Preface the only difference was 'that Tyndale tended to mistrust

⁷⁵² *Ibid.*, pp. 27-9.

⁷⁵³ *Ibid.*, pp. 30-1.

⁷⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 41.

⁷⁵⁵ Carl R. Trueman, *Luther's Legacy: Salvation and the English Reformers, 1525-1556* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1994), pp. 55-6, 84-97. Further qualified assent to Trinterud is found in James Edward McGoldrick, *Luther's English Connection: The Reformation Thought Of Robert Barnes and William Tyndale* (Milwaukee, WI: Northwestern Publishing House, 1979), pp. 128-35; cf. also Gerald Hammond, 'Law and Love in Deuteronomy', in John A.R. Dick and Anne Richardson, eds, *William Tyndale and the Law*, SCES vol. 25 (Kirkville, MO: SCJ, 1994), pp. 51-8.

Luther's very careful distinction between law and gospel'.⁷⁵⁶ On the other hand, Rupp argued strongly against the disjunction between Tyndale and Luther, claiming that the former sought in the Romans Preface to 'make known the teaching of Luther in English dress'.⁷⁵⁷ At issue is the ultimate theological significance of the role of the law in the Christian life.

The role of the OT law (and in some cases the NT commandments) had been a point of disagreement between Luther and Swiss Reformed theologians from an early date; it would by mid-century cause strife within the Lutheran churches.⁷⁵⁸ Aside from the 'Antinomians', led by Agricola, who denied that the law had any place in the church, there was agreement on some basic ground: the OT law had limited civil use for restraining evil, and it performed the spiritual function of driving the sinner to realize his or her need of grace.⁷⁵⁹ It was the latter which was, to Luther, the proper and chief function (*usus*) of the law and in a sense marked the end of the law for Christians – at least insofar as the law accuses and condemns. This fit into Luther's understanding of the law/gospel dialectic, in which the condemnations of the law drive an individual to the gospel, and from the latter standpoint the justified sinner can understand the law. Both were

⁷⁵⁶ William A. Clebsch, *England's Earliest Protestants 1520-1535*, Yale Publications in Religion vol. 11 (New Haven: YUP, 1964), pp. 144-6, 163-74 (quotation p. 146).

⁷⁵⁷ E.G. Rupp, *Studies in the Making of the English Protestant Tradition (Mainly in the Reign of Henry VIII)* (Cambridge: CUP, 1947), pp. 49-50 (quotation p. 49); cf. Gordon Rupp, 'Patterns of Salvation in the First Age of the Reformation', *ARG* 57 (1966): 52-66 (p. 64).

⁷⁵⁸ Good general articles on law may be found in the standard reference works: I. John Hesselink, 'Law', *ERF* pp. 215-7; Karl-Heinz zur Mühlen, 'Theological Understanding of Law', *OER* 2.404-8 (s.u. 'Law'); Rudolf Mau, 'Gesetz V. Reformationszeit', *TRE* 13.82-90 (s.u. 'Gesetz').

⁷⁵⁹ An overview particularly sensitive to broader theological issues is Edward A. Dowey, 'Law in Luther and Calvin', *Theology Today* 41 (1984): 146-53.

always to be preached, but with adequate emphasis on their distinction

– Christ was not Moses, as Luther had said in the NT prologue.⁷⁶⁰

A ‘third use’ of the law was discerned, however, by Luther’s colleague Melanchthon. Influenced by Christian humanism, he placed more emphasis on natural law and on Christ as a moral example. The Decalogue particularly was connected to natural law, so it was useful for Christians, although they were freed from its curse; the rest of the OT law was more thoroughly abrogated. Melanchthon can be seen shifting his views even in the first two editions of his *Loci communes* (1521, 1522). Neuser points out that whereas he spoke of an abrogation of the old law in the first edition, in the second he uses the term rather with regard to the old covenant.⁷⁶¹ Even in the first edition, which uses language very similar to that of Luther, Melanchthon suggests the usefulness of the Decalogue to believers; by 1534 he was explicit regarding the third use of the law for Christians.⁷⁶²

The third use was also taken up by the Swiss Reformed. Zwingli, who sounds very like Luther at points, nevertheless believed the law to reflect God’s ‘unchangeable will’, which ‘reflects profoundly the nature or character of God’.⁷⁶³ But only believers understand it correctly. To Calvin, the third use only obtains in the context of grace, and is not a matter of

⁷⁶⁰ There is a considerable literature on both Luther and the Reformed theologians and the law. Aside from the articles cited above, a good study of Luther may be found in Paul Althaus, *The Theology of Martin Luther*, 2nd edn, trans. Robert C. Schultz (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1966), pp. 251-73.

⁷⁶¹ Wilhelm H. Neuser, *Der Ansatz der Theologie Philipps Melanchthons*, Beiträge zur Geschichte und Lehre der Reformierten Kirche vol. 9.1 (Neukirchen: Verlag der Buchhandlung des Erziehungsvereins, 1957), pp. 120-4 (p. 121).

⁷⁶² See the ET of the first edition in Wilhelm Pauck, trans. and ed, *Melanchthon and Bucer*, LCC (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1969), pp. 121-30; for the date, Timothy J. Wengert, ‘Antinomianism’, *OER* 1.51-3.

⁷⁶³ W.P. Stephens, *The Theology of Huldrych Zwingli* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1986), p. 165.

justification but sanctification. The Holy Spirit uses the law to teach believers obedience.⁷⁶⁴ This is the chief use of the law for Calvin because believers are still affected by their 'listless flesh' and need to be taught obedience.⁷⁶⁵

Althaus's assessment of Luther's overall view of law was that it did still have use for believers, keeping them from becoming lax and instructing those who were less controlled by the Spirit in how they ought to behave – a third use 'in substance'. Althaus cites the use of the Decalogue in Luther's catechisms in support.⁷⁶⁶ Pelikan likewise qualifies the width of divergence on this issue: 'the difference between the Lutheran and the Reformed doctrine of the uses of the law is not as easy for historical research to define as it was for confessional polemics'. The similarity regarding the decalogue in catechisms shows affinity, though the emphasis on discipline in confessions shows divergence.⁷⁶⁷

If there were different emphases amongst theologians concerning the function of the law for the Christian, there was also a good deal of common ground concerning the first two uses, as well as the crucial role of the Spirit in guiding the believer's conduct. To Luther, the Spirit fills believers with love for God by which they are led to love the law and fulfil it with spontaneous, loving action.⁷⁶⁸ The Spirit likewise guides believers for

⁷⁶⁴ I. John Hesselink, *Calvin's Concept of the Law*, Princeton Theological Monograph Series vol. 30 (Allison Park, PA: Pickwick, 1992), pp. 251-61.

⁷⁶⁵ See *Inst.* 2.7, esp. sections 12-13; ET John Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, 2 vols, LCC vols 20-21, ed John T. McNeill, trans. Ford Lewis Battles (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1960), 1.360-2 (p. 361). Most of this material was added in the 1539 edn.

⁷⁶⁶ Althaus, *Theology of Luther*, pp. 266-73 (quotation p. 273).

⁷⁶⁷ Pelikan, *Christian Tradition*, 4.213-5 (quotation p. 215). Cf. also Stephen Ozment, *The Age of Reform 1250-1550: An Intellectual and Religious History of Late Medieval and Reformation Europe* (New Haven and London: YUP, 1980), p. 324 n. 17.

⁷⁶⁸ Althaus, *Theology of Luther*, p. 267.

Zwingli, and Calvin's third use is particularly connected to the work of the Spirit.⁷⁶⁹ These similarities may, for a contemporary writer like Tyndale, have obscured the finer points which differed – and Trinterud did concede that Tyndale may not have been aware of his divergence from Luther in the additions to the Romans Preface.⁷⁷⁰

Trinterud was correct that Tyndale's additions to the Romans Preface place a much greater emphasis on the role of the Spirit and empowerment to fulfil the law than does Luther's original, perhaps owing to his reading of Melancthon or Swiss theologians. The differences can be subtle. In attacking the view that 'a man may ande mvst prepaire him self to grace and to the fauoure of Gode be gude werkes', Tyndale added the phrase 'before that he haif the spret of treu faith in Christ'.⁷⁷¹ Presumably Tyndale wished to emphasize the fact that after the Spirit came, good works were to be pursued. Likewise Tyndale added statements about the Spirit's role in releasing humans from their hatred of the law, implying that heartfelt fulfilment of the law would follow from the Spirit's presence.⁷⁷² In numerous other places, Tyndale added references to the role of this Spirit in this process.

⁷⁶⁹ Stephens, *Theology of Zwingli*, pp. 166-7; Hesselink, *Calvin's Concept of Law*, pp. 251-2, 261.

⁷⁷⁰ Smeeton has claimed that Tyndale's view of the interplay between faith and law is his 'unique contribution to the theology of the Reformation' with roots in Lollard thought: Donald Dean Smeeton, *Lollard Themes in the Reformation Theology of William Tyndale*, SCES vol. 6 (Kirkville, MO: SCJ, 1986), pp. 140-8 (quotations pp. 142, 145); cf. Donald Dean Smeeton, 'The Pneumatology of William Tyndale', *Pneuma* 3.1 (1981): 22-30. However, in view of the stress on the Spirit by leading continental theologians, and by Luther in the Romans Preface itself (e.g. WADB 7.6, 10), this should be qualified both in terms of Tyndale's uniqueness and of his indebtedness to Lollardy.

⁷⁷¹ NTScots 3.319; Nisbet mis-copied the phrase '& true fayth' in STC 2840, fol. +3r. Cf. WADB 7.6.

⁷⁷² NTScots 3.333; cf. WADB 7.16.

But the fact that Tyndale built upon Luther's preface raises the important question whether he saw any divergence between his additions and the German original. As Tyndale did not edit out Luther's material on freedom from the law, the answer would appear to be negative. Tyndale may have seen the need to place extra stress the work of the Spirit and the fulfilment of the law in the life of a Christian, but not as a contradiction to Luther.⁷⁷³ The German preface had, after all, said that 'through faith a man ... comes to take pleasure in God's commandments', and discussed Christ as a moral exemplar.⁷⁷⁴ Grace, according to Luther, 'makes the law dear to us ... the law is no longer against us but one with us'.⁷⁷⁵ Moreover, Luther himself mentions the Spirit in connection with the fulfilment of the law: 'the Spirit makes the heart glad and free, as the law requires that it shall be. Thus good works emerge from faith itself'.⁷⁷⁶ Tyndale's expanded translation of this passage shows that he saw his conclusions to be latent within Luther's text:

The spreit bryngis lust and desir, lowsis the hart, makis it fre, settis it at liberte, ande giffis him strentht to wirk the dedis of the law as the law requiris; than at the last, out of the sam faith sua wirking in the hart, spryngis all gude werkis be thair awin accorde.⁷⁷⁷

Tyndale's additions are significant, but amplification rather than revision was probably the translator's aim.

⁷⁷³ Tyndale may not have been concerned or even aware with the potential inconsistencies in his own writing in the early part of his career: see Trueman, *Luther's Legacy*, pp. 89-97, esp. 94-5; cf. pp. 98-108 for his writings 1530-2.

⁷⁷⁴ ET LW 35.371; WADB 7.10; cf. NTScots 3.327 ('obtenis luf vnto the lawe of Gode'). On Christ as a moral example, see NTScots 3.343; WADB 7.24, 26.

⁷⁷⁵ LW 35.375-6; WADB 7.18; cf. NTScots 3.336, where Tyndale adds a reference to the Spirit in this passage.

⁷⁷⁶ ET LW 35.368-9; WADB 7.6.

⁷⁷⁷ NTScots 3.321.

If amplified in Tyndale's own way, the basic elements of justification by faith still laid the foundation for the entire Romans Preface. The individual requires 'sum othir thing, yee, ande a gretter thing, and a mair mychty thing, thann the law to mak him rychtwiss ande saif'.⁷⁷⁸ Justification came through faith in Christ alone, and it fulfilled the law, as one of Tyndale's additions attests: 'to be lowset fra the law is to fulfill jt, ande to paye that quhilk the law demandit, sua that it can eftirwart ask the na maire'.⁷⁷⁹ This grounding in justification by faith alone is important when considering the related question of covenant theology.⁷⁸⁰

⁷⁷⁸ NTScots 3.338; cf. WADB 7.20

⁷⁷⁹ NTScots 3.337.

⁷⁸⁰ See Trueman, *Luther's Legacy*, pp. 101-8, 119-20, for an argument (*contra* Clebsch) that Tyndale's view of justification remained the same throughout his career, in spite of his increasing emphasis on works.

Appendix 3: Covenant theology in the Romans Preface

In Tyndale's revised Romans Preface, added to Nisbet's NT, certain shifts of emphasis are clear. Among these, it has been suggested, are the beginnings of covenant theology. This broad label may be applied to different facets of Protestant theology, but its importance here lies in its modification of justification by faith alone. If the language of covenant implied a conditional relationship between humans and God, solafideism might be compromised. Given the importance of the theology of covenant in the following century in Ayrshire, a brief examination of the possible presence of this idea in Nisbet's reading circle at an early date is necessary.

Leonard Trinterud claims that Tyndale, Frith, Bale, Hooper, and Bradford represent a stream of 'Augustinian' thinking which draws on distinctively English medieval thought and practice. This stream, augmented by the theology of Bucer, Zwingli, and Oecolampadius, eventually led to the rise of Puritanism in England. Trinterud sees a sharp divergence in this thinking from Calvin's understanding of covenants, in that he takes the English tradition to teach human responsibility after justification as a conditional covenant with God.⁷⁸¹ Related to the question of covenant theology are issues which were as divisive in their own day as they are today: predestination, the nature of salvation, legalism, and political revolution.⁷⁸²

Tyndale's interest in the fulfilment of the law by Christians is part of the reason Trinterud sees him as the father of covenant theology in England. Clebsch, likewise, sees Tyndale moving in the 1530s toward a theology of

⁷⁸¹ Leonard J. Trinterud, 'The Origins of Puritanism', *CH* 20.1 (1951): 37-57 (pp. 38-44).

⁷⁸² The literature on this subject is massive and hotly-debated; Trinterud's position has been strongly challenged, and is only used in the text as a starting-point. Owing to the argument that follows, the need for more detailed treatment here is obviated, particularly since this discussion is limited to the Romans Preface and Tyndale's early career.

bilateral contract between God and humans.⁷⁸³ But Trueman counters these claims, demonstrating more fundamental continuities in Tyndale's thought – particularly in the familial, non-contractual language he used for salvation – and stressing his preference for the nature/grace distinction over that of law/gospel.⁷⁸⁴ He does, however, acknowledge the conditional nature of the covenantal relationship post-justification. Given Tyndale's continued emphasis on justification, the placement of the covenant in the context of salvation by Trinterud and Clebsch is less useful than in the context of sanctification – particularly when coupled with Tyndale's emphasis on the Spirit.

The present purpose is not to trace the development of Tyndale's thought, nor the beginnings of covenant theology, but to establish whether seeds of such thinking exist in the Romans Preface. Certainly a heartfelt obedience to the law by Christians was enjoined in the Romans Preface, an obedience, Tyndale added, which would result in part from knowledge of 'the monyfald convenantes of mercy quhairwith Gode hes bunde him self to be mynne' (*NTScots*, 3.324). But there is no elaboration of a contractual relationship between God and the believer in the Preface; and references to the theology of the cross from Luther's original prevent any easy calculation of behaviour and reward in the Christian life.

Whether Tyndale thought his additions to differ from Luther in this matter is highly doubtful. Luther had said in the Preface that believers who fight against the flesh 'may fulfill our baptyme, quhilk signified the mortifying of synnes ande the new lif of grace'.⁷⁸⁵ Tyndale may have taken

⁷⁸³ Clebsch, *England's Earliest Protestants*, pp. 181-204.

⁷⁸⁴ Trueman, *Luther's Legacy*, pp. 109-19; Trueman, 'Pathway to Reformation', pp. 21-4.

⁷⁸⁵ *NTScots* 3.336; '... vnser tauffe volbringen, die auch den tod der sunden vnd new leben der gnaden bedeutet': *WADB* 7.18.

such a statement to imply some sort of covenantal relationship. In any case, neither Trinterud nor Clebsch claims that covenant theology was more than a seedling in Tyndale's Romans Preface, so presumably the ideas were not sufficiently developed for a controversy to take root in his mind at this point.⁷⁸⁶ On the other hand, *pace* Clebsch, it should be stated that Tyndale's revisions of the Romans Preface in 1534 and 1535 do *not* show development toward a covenant of works, but rather clarification that faith itself is a gift.⁷⁸⁷ Nor does Tyndale articulate a concept of double justification in the Romans Preface.⁷⁸⁸ As noted above, he accepts Luther's claim that the law cannot bring salvation, and in one of his additions, he states that after justification the law can 'ask the na maire'. Even if the tensions in his Romans Preface were evident to Tyndale, he did not significantly revise the document in 1534-5.

Both of these theological issues – the law and the covenant – were important and real in the sixteenth century. However, at least in the Romans Preface, Tyndale probably did not believe his understanding of them to contradict Luther. Nor, for that matter, does Coverdale appear to have seen any inconsistency in including in his NTs Luther's entire NT Prologue – including the injunction not to make Christ into Moses – along with Tyndale's revised Romans Preface. Further, Coverdale's additions to the Prologue mention that anyone who lives according to Scripture is a 'partakare

⁷⁸⁶ In the Prologue, Coverdale translated directly Luther's use of 'Testament', which would later be significant in discussions of covenant; it must be doubted that he saw the technical ramifications of this term: *WADB* 6.4; *NTScots* 1.2. On the language, see Kenneth Hagen, 'From Testament to Covenant in the Early Sixteenth Century', *SCJ* 3 (1972): 1-24; and Derk Visser, 'Covenant', *OER* 1.442-5 (p. 442).

⁷⁸⁷ Cf. Clebsch, *England's Earliest Protestants*, pp. 185-95. In discussing changes made to the 1534 Tyndale NT, Clebsch does not address the relatively static form of the Romans Preface, though it might in some ways support his case.

⁷⁸⁸ Cf. Trueman, *Luther's Legacy*, pp. 102-4, 140-2.

of [al] the promisis that evir God made vnto thame that fere him': is it possible that this eventual Puritan had moved in a direction similar to that of Tyndale? But it is clear that he did not see this as a contradiction to Luther.⁷⁸⁹

⁷⁸⁹ NTScots 1.4-5.

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